policy REVIEW

Fall 1993 Number 66 $5.50

"Tear Down This Wall"
250 Quotations Censored from Bartlett's

Rape Is A Conservative Issue
Margaret D. Bonilla

Is The Clinton Health Plan Making You Sick? Here's The Alternative
Stuart M. Butler

Memo To The GOP: How To Win In 1996
Grover G. Norquist

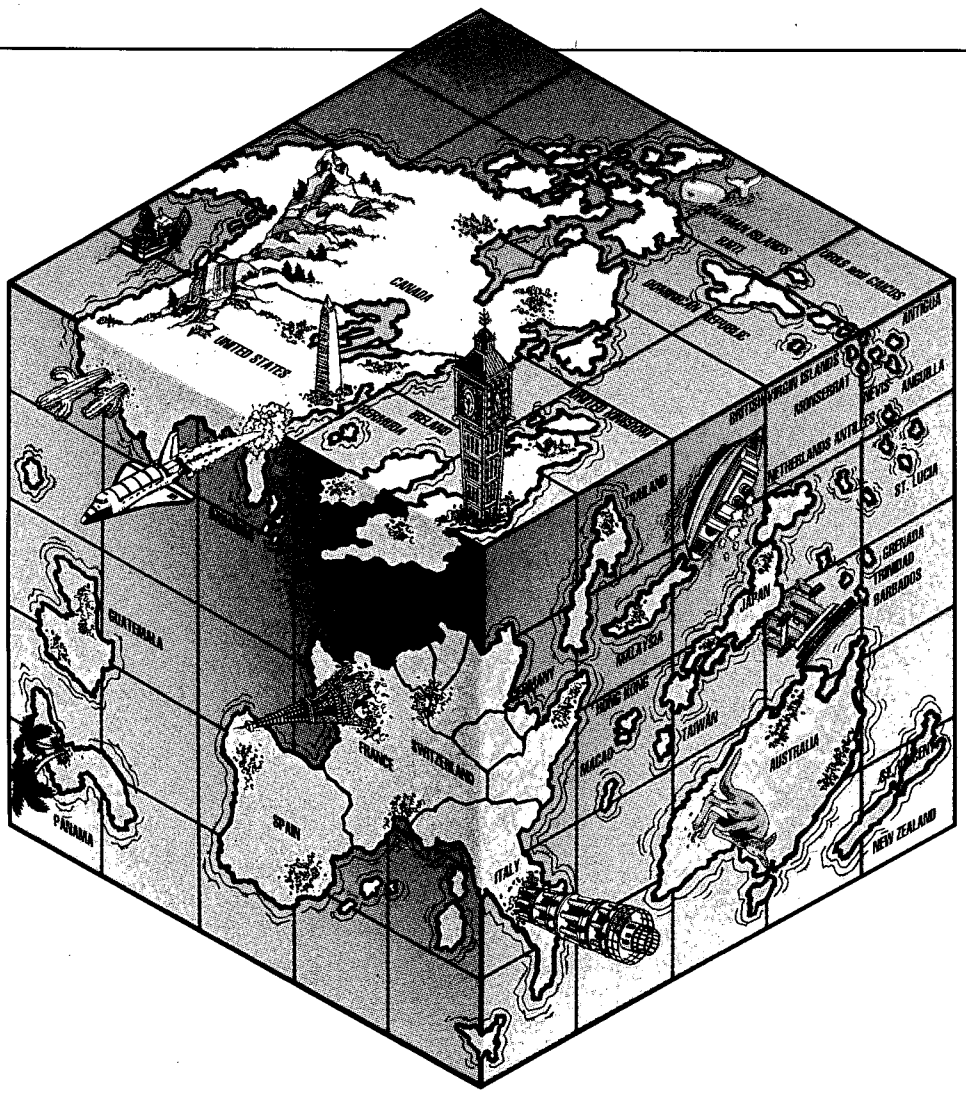
Peacekeeping Is Hell
John F. Hillen III

The Pentagon's Welfare State
Allan Carlson

Which Health Plan Did Your Congressman Choose?

33
0 74470 65831 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



We're Taking Free Enterprise To the Corners of the World

The 1990s have brought us a world hungry for personal freedom. Around the globe, people are searching for opportunity, financial rewards, and personal fulfillment – the bounties of free enterprise that Amway has shared for over 30 years.

Through more than two million independent distributors in 60 countries and territories, the Amway opportunity is reaching corners of the world we once only imagined.

Amway®

We're changing the shape of the business world.

©1993, AMWAY CORPORATION, U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fall 1993

policy REVIEW

Number 66

Mr. Kaplan, Tear Down This Wall — *Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Whittaker Chambers, et al.* 4
Policy Review offers 250 conservative quotations censored from Bartlett's.

Cultural Assault — *Margaret D. Bonilla* 22
What feminists are doing to rape ought to be a crime.

Prelude to A Landslide — *Grover G. Norquist* 30
How grass-roots populism could help Republicans in 1996.

Peacekeeping Is Hell — *John F. Hillen III* 36
A veteran of Desert Storm explains how the Clinton administration is ignoring the lessons of Vietnam.

America's Wild Kingdom — *Jide Nzelibe* 40
A Nigerian student is shocked by his U.S. public school.

Your Honey or Your Life — *Allan Carlson* 45
Dependent-related costs are skyrocketing in the U.S. military: Is it time for a bachelor army?

Have It Your Way — *Stuart M. Butler* 54
If the Clinton health plan makes you sick, here's the alternative: The Heritage Foundation health plan.

You Better Shop Around — *Anna Bray* 60
Shouldn't you have the same health care choices as your Congressman?

Michigan's Welfare Abolitionist — *Lawrence W. Reed* 65
Gov. John Engler ended general assistance welfare two years ago. Since then, thousands have found jobs.

1983 — *Andrew E. Busch and Elizabeth Edwards Spalding* 71
The 10-year anniversary marks the beginning of the end of the Cold War.

Failing Grade for Federal Aid — *Brian Jendryka* 77
We have wasted $135 billion on compensatory education. If Chapter 1 were a business, it would be in Chapter 11.

Letters: Responses to Dr. Lois Copeland, Ralph Reed — *Letters to the editor* 83
18 Doctors on Medicare price controls; Is the Christian Coalition on the right track?

The Heritage Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROPERTY RIGHTS and the CONSTITUTION

Shaping Society Through Land Use Regulation

Dennis J. Coyle

This book is the first systematic attempt to assess key constitutional developments in the land use field during the last decade in state and federal supreme courts. It highlights important trends, including the growing role of state supreme courts, attacks on regulation as exclusionary, and the emergence of the takings clause of the Fifth Amendment as a potentially major limitation on governmental power.

"Coyle focuses attention on two much-neglected elements: How capacious is the concept of property rights, and what is going on in the state courts regarding property rights broadly conceived. He has done a splendid job, focusing on three leading jurisdictions that other high courts follow and that depart from each other in judicial philosophy with respect to property rights. This one is a winner!"

—Ellen Frankel Paul
Bowling Green State University

382 pages • $21.95 paperback • ISBN 0-7914-1444-2

State University of New York Press

c/o CUP Services • Box 6525 • Ithaca, NY • 14851

1-800-666-2211 (orders) • VISA, MC, AMEX, DISC

Please add $3 shipping • NY State residents, add 8% tax

policy REVIEW

Number 66 **Fall 1993**

Editor
Adam Meyerson

Deputy Editor
Joe Loconte

Managing Editor
Margaret D. Bonilla

Assistant Editor
Brian Jendryka

Editorial Assistant
Brendan O'Scannlain

Publisher
Edwin J. Feulner Jr.

Associate Publisher
Ben Morehead

Publishing Assistant
Laura Robertson

Subscription Manager
Elizabeth C. King

Editorial Board

David I. Meiselman, Chairman
Sir Kingsley Amis
George F. Gilder
Stephen Haseler
Harold M. Hochman
Ernest W. Lefever
Henry G. Manne
Antonio Martino
Allan H. Meltzer
Robert Moss
John O'Sullivan
William Schneider Jr.
Gordon Tullock
Ernest van den Haag

The Heritage Foundation

Policy Review (ISSN 0146-5945) is published quarterly by The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4999. Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices.

Policy Review is a forum for conservative debate on the major political issues of our time. The views in *Policy Review* are those of the authors. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board or of The Heritage Foundation.

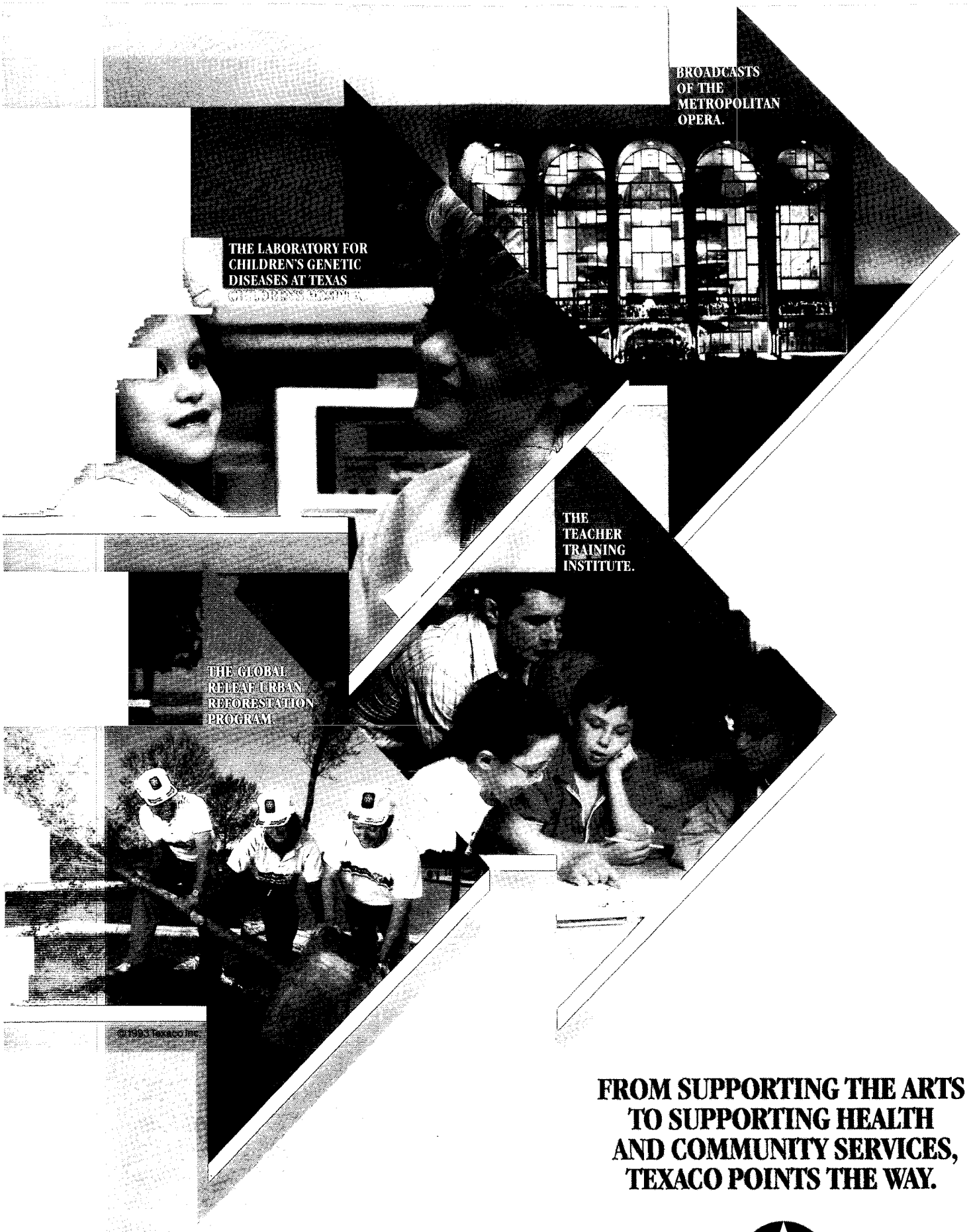
Correspondence should be sent to *Policy Review*, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4999. Telephone: (202) 546-4400. Send requests to reprint more than short quotations to the Associate Publisher. Send address changes to *Policy Review*, Subscriptions Manager, at the above address. Subscription rates are $22 for one year, $44 for two years, and $66 for three years. Add $10 per year for foreign air delivery.

Policy Review is indexed by the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, the Public Affairs Information Service, and the Social Sciences Index.

Policy Review has been copyrighted for 1993 by The Heritage Foundation and is available on NEXIS.

U.S.A. Newsstand Distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 1130 Cleveland Road, Sandusky, Ohio 44870. Printed in the United States of America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


BROADCASTS OF THE METROPOLITAN OPERA.
THE LABORATORY FOR CHILDREN'S GENETIC DISEASES AT TEXAS
THE TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTE.
THE GLOBAL RELEAF URBAN REFORESTATION PROGRAM.
©1993 Texaco Inc.

FROM SUPPORTING THE ARTS TO SUPPORTING HEALTH AND COMMUNITY SERVICES, TEXACO POINTS THE WAY.

TEXACO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Kaplan, Tear Down This Wall

Bartlett's Missing Quotations

"I'm not going to disguise the fact that I despise Ronald Reagan," Justin Kaplan, editor of *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, told the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. President Reagan "could not be described as a memorable phrase maker" but was really only "an actor masquerading as a leader," Mr. Kaplan later wrote in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Mr. Kaplan was responding to criticisms, initiated by me and picked up by the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page and other publications, that he was trying to deny Ronald Reagan his rightful place in rhetorical history. His responses show that he has allowed his political bigotry to interfere with his scholarly judgment, and that he is abusing his power as guardian of one of America's leading cultural institutions.

The 16th edition of *Bartlett's*, published in late 1992, contains only three entries from Ronald Reagan, the same number as from Zachary Taylor and Gerald Ford. By comparison, there are 28 entries from John F. Kennedy and 35 from Franklin Roosevelt. Jimmy Carter, hardly remembered for his eloquence, has twice as many entries as the president who was called, even by his enemies, the "Great Communicator."

To make matters worse, the Reaganisms cited in *Bartlett's* 16th aren't even memorable; instead they are intended to make Mr. Reagan look ridiculous. One suggests there is no shortage of food in America. In another, Mr. Reagan says Republicans want "an America in which people can still get rich." The third compares government to a baby—"an alimentary canal with a big appetite at one end and no responsibility at the other."

These aren't the lines that admirers of Mr. Reagan's rhetoric most remember. None of President Reagan's great Cold War speeches are quoted—not even his "evil empire" line, which Justin Kaplan misattributes to George Lucas's *Star Wars* screenplay. Nor are any of Mr. Reagan's most important statements of conservative principles deemed worthy of *Bartlett's*.

This was not an unintended oversight on Justin Kaplan's part. I and others sent him examples of great Reagan quotations that ought to be considered for the 17th edition. His response was to write in the *Wall Street Journal* that he "was doing [Mr. Reagan's] reputation a favor" by quoting so sparingly from him.

Mr. Kaplan's deliberate slighting of President Reagan is just the tip of the iceberg in his abuse of his cultural power. The 16th edition of *Bartlett's* has no quotations whatsoever from Whittaker Chambers, William F. Buckley Jr., Russell Kirk, Irving Kristol, George Will, George Gilder, Jeane Kirkpatrick, or Sidney Hook. It has 11 quotations from John Kenneth Galbraith, compared with three from Milton Friedman and two from Friedrich Hayek. It has six from Felix Frankfurter, six from Louis Brandeis, and four from Learned Hand, but none from Robert Bork. It has 11 from Martin Luther King, four from Malcolm X, and two from Jesse Jackson, but none from any contemporary black conservative such as Thomas Sowell.

Even when Mr. Kaplan quotes conservatives, he usually leaves out their ideologically most powerful statements. There are three quotations from Margaret Thatcher, none of them indicating what she believes in. The three quotations from John Paul II do not include his masterpiece encyclical *Centesimus Annus*. Of eight quotations from Alexander Solzhenitsyn, only one is a direct criticism of communism—and that one is equally critical of the West. Ditto for Vaclav Havel, whose two quotes in *Bartlett's* do not include his most powerful insights into the nature of totalitarianism. The only 20th century conservative who gets a fair shake in *Bartlett's* is Winston Churchill.

Jonathan Siegel, co-editor of the *Macmillan Book of Political Quotations*, calls the political bias in the latest *Bartlett's* "an insult to the memory of John Bartlett and the ideologically inclusive spirit of the first 15 editions." The Macmillan collection has 65 quotations from Ronald Reagan and 34 from Margaret Thatcher.

Policy Review here offers a sampling of conservative quotations from the past 50 years that ought to be considered for *Bartlett's* 17th edition. The editors of *Policy Review* wish to express their appreciation to the dozens of scholars and writers who offered valuable suggestions for this compilation, and to Nicholas Schulz, who coordinated the project.

Unlike Justin Kaplan, we would be the first to admit that our collection of quotations is incomplete. *Policy Review* invites its readers to send us important conservative quotations from the past 50 years that we have missed. We hope to publish a sequel in a later issue.

— Adam Meyerson

Robert L. Bartley

American economic history is a story of booms fading into resentment. It is not so much a business cycle as a cycle of public sentiment, alternating between times of optimism and times of pessimism. Between, if you must, decades of greed and, if you will, decades of envy.

The Seven Fat Years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bettmann Archives

"Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!"—Ronald Wilson Reagan, Berlin, 1987.

WILLIAM J. BENNETT

We must develop a fair appreciation for the real strengths and limitations of government effort on behalf of children. Government, obviously, cannot fill a child's emotional needs. Nor can it fill his spiritual and moral needs. Government is not a father or mother. Government has never raised a child, and it never will.

University of Notre Dame, October, 1990

[E]ducation is, after all, a serious business. Its lifeblood is standards. If there are no standards, how do we call something higher education?

Ibid.

This is a free country. Within very broad limits, people may live as they wish. And yet, we believe that some ways of living are better than others. Better because they bring more meaning to our lives, to the lives of others, and to our fragile fallible human condition. Marriage and parenthood should be held up because between husband and wife and in fatherhood and motherhood come blessings that cannot be won in any other way.

Speech to the 1992 Republican National Convention

[A]ll real education is the architecture of the soul.

Ibid.

I do not suggest that you should not have an open mind, particularly as you approach college. But, don't keep your mind so open that your brains fall out.

Gonzaga College High School, 1987

Discrimination on the basis of race is illegal, immoral, and unconstitutional, inherently wrong, and destructive of democratic society.

Counting by Race (with Terry Eastland)

LLOYD BENTSEN

We don't have to put people out of work to control inflation. The goal of the next decade should be to fight inflation and unemployment through supply-side incentives to put more goods on the shelves. That's the way to cut prices and boost employment.

Statement of Joint Economic Committee of Congress, 1980

ALLAN BLOOM

First radio, then television, have assaulted and overturned the privacy of the home, the real American privacy, which permitted the development of a higher and more independent life within democratic society. Parents can no longer control the atmosphere of the home and have lost even the will to do so. With great subtlety and energy, television enters not only the room, but also the tastes of old and young alike, appealing to the immediately pleasant and subverting whatever does not conform to it.

The Closing of the American Mind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

"Socialize the individual's surplus and you socialize his spirit and creativeness; you cannot paint the *Mona Lisa* by assigning one dab of paint to a thousand painters."—William F. Buckley Jr.

The real community of man, in the midst of all the self-contradictory simulacra of community, is the community of those who seek the truth.

Ibid.

There is one thing a professor can be absolutely certain of: almost every student entering the university believes, or says he believes, that truth is relative.

Ibid.

Robert Bork

In a constitutional democracy the moral content of law must be given by the morality of the framer or legislator, never by the morality of the judge.

American Enterprise Institute, 1984

Those who made and endorsed our Constitution knew man's nature, and it is to their ideas, rather than to the temptations of utopia, that we must ask that our judges adhere.

The Tempting of America

The judge's authority derives entirely from the fact that he is applying the law and not his personal values. That is why the American public accepts the decisions of its courts, accepts even decisions that nullify the laws a majority of the electorate or their representatives voted for.

Opening statement at hearings to become associate justice of the Supreme Court, 1987

[W]hen a judge goes beyond [his proper function] and reads entirely new values into the Constitution, values the framers and ratifiers did not put there, he deprives the people of their liberty. That liberty, which the Constitution clearly envisions, is the liberty of the people to set their own social agenda through the process of democracy.

Ibid.

The First Amendment is about how we govern ourselves—not about how we titillate ourselves sexually.

Argument for greater restrictions on pornography; an interview on ABC's "This Week," June 25, 1989

William F. Buckley Jr.

[*National Review*] stands athwart history, yelling Stop.

Inaugural issue, National Review

How can the modern relativist exercise tolerance if he doesn't believe in anything to begin with? It is not hard to exhibit toleration toward a point of view if you have no point of view of your own with which that point of view conflicts.

Up From Liberalism

I mean to live my life an obedient man, but obedient to God, subservient to the wisdom of my ancestors; never to the authority of political truths arrived at yesterday at the voting booth.

Ibid.

Socialize the individual's surplus and you socialize his spirit and creativeness; you cannot paint the *Mona Lisa* by assigning one dab of paint to a thousand painters.

Ibid.

I should sooner live in a society governed by the first two thousand names in the Boston telephone directory than in a society governed by the two thousand faculty members of Harvard University.

Rumbles

[T]he government of the United States, under Lyndon Johnson, proposes to concern itself over the quality of American life. And this is something very new in the political theory of free nations. The quality of life has heretofore depended on the quality of the human beings who gave tone to that life, and they were its priests and its poets, not its bureaucrats.

National Review, August 7, 1965

The state is a divine institution. Without it we have anarchy, and the lawlessness of anarchy is counter to the natural law: so we abjure all political theories which view the state as inherently and necessarily evil. But it is the state which has been in history the principal instrument of abuse of the people, and so it is central to the conservatives' program to keep the state from accumulating any but the most necessary powers.

The Catholic World

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War is the second worst activity of mankind, the worst being acquiescence in slavery.

On the Right

James Burnham

Modern liberalism, for most liberals is not a consciously understood set of rational beliefs, but a bundle of unexamined prejudices and conjoined sentiments. The basic ideas and beliefs seem more satisfactory when they are *not* made fully explicit, when they merely lurk rather obscurely in the background, coloring the rhetoric and adding a certain emotive glow.

Suicide of the West

The economic egalitarianism of the liberal ideology implies ... the reduction of Westerners to hunger and poverty.

Ibid.

[A]rmaments do not, generally speaking, cause wars. This notion, the logical crux of all arguments in favor of disarmament, turns the causal relationship upside down. Actually, it is wars, or conflicts threatening war, that cause armaments, not the reverse.

The War We Are In

Whittaker Chambers

I know that I am leaving the winning side for the losing side, but it is better to die on the losing side than to live under Communism.

Statement before the House Un-American Activities Committee, August 3, 1948

The story has spread that in testifying against Mr. Hiss, I am working out some old grudge, or motives of revenge or hatred. I do not hate Mr. Hiss. We were close friends, but we are caught in a tragedy of history. Mr. Hiss represents the concealed enemy against which we are all fighting, and I am fighting. I have testified against him with remorse and pity, but in a moment of history in which this Nation now stands, so help me God, I could not do otherwise.

Ibid., August 25, 1948

Political freedom is a political reading of the Bible.

Witness

[E]very sincere break with Communism is a religious experience, though the Communists fail to identify its true nature, though he fail to go to the end of the experience. His break is the political expression of the perpetual need of the soul whose first faint stirring he has felt within him, years, months or days before he breaks. A Communist breaks because he must choose at last between irreconcilable opposites—God or Man, Soul or Mind, Freedom or Communism.

Ibid.

[W]hen I took up my little sling and aimed at Communism, I also hit something else. What I hit was the forces of that great socialist revolution, which, in the name of liberalism, spasmodically, incompletely, somewhat formlessly, but always in the name of direction, has been inching its ice cap over the nation for two decades.

Ibid.

I see in Communism the focus of the concentrated evil of our time.

Ibid.

The Communist vision is the vision of man without God.

Ibid.

Chiang Kai-shek

If when I die I am still a dictator I will certainly go down into the oblivion of all dictators. If, on the other hand, I succeed in establishing a stable base for a democratic government, I will be remembered forever in every home in China.

Attributed

Midge Decter

We refused to assume ... one of the central obligations of parenthood: to make ourselves the final authority on good and bad, right and wrong, and to take the consequences of what might turn out to be a lifetime battle.

Liberal Parents, Radical Children

Everett M. Dirksen

You spend a billion here and a billion there. Sooner or later it adds up to real money.

Attributed

Milovan Djilas

[T]he Communist revolution, conducted in the name of doing away with classes, has resulted in the most complete authority of any single new class. Everything else is a sham and illusion.

The New Class

[I]deology in the Soviet Union is both dead, and very much alive!

Dead at the level of faith; alive as an indispensable rationale of policy.

Encounter, December 1979

In 30 years, everything will be changed in Russia—its economic and social relations with the west, its government and party structure. The spirit inside the party will change. I believe democracy will come to Russia ... it has to come. It cannot be stopped.

May 1, 1970

Albert Einstein

Everything that is really great and inspiring is created by the individual who can labor in freedom.

Out Of My Later Years, 1950

The hardest thing in the world to understand is the income tax.

Attributed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UPI/ Bettmann

"I see in Communism the focus of concentrated evil in our time."—Whittaker Chambers

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Morale is the greatest single factor in successful wars.
New York Post, June 23, 1945

Americans, indeed all free men, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains.
First Inaugural Address, January 20, 1953

You have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the "falling domino" principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly.
Explanation as to why Indochina would not be allowed to fall to the communists, April 7, 1954

We face a hostile ideology [communism]—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method.
Farewell address to the nation, January 17,1961

Our best protection against bigger government in Washington is better government in the states.
Speech to the NGC, Cleveland, Ohio, June 8, 1964

FELIX FRANKFURTER

[T]he ultimate touchstone of constitutionality is the Constitution itself and not what we have said about it.
Graves v. New York, 306 US 466, 1939

[P]ersonal freedom is best maintained ... when it is ingrained in a people's habits and not enforced against popular policy by the coercion of adjudicated law.
Ibid.

If the function of this Court is to be essentially no different from that of a legislature, if the considerations governing constitutional construction are to be substantially those that underlie legislation, then indeed judges should not have life tenure and they should be made directly responsible to the electorate.
Ibid.

The [Supreme] Court's authority—possessed neither of the purse nor the sword—ultimately rests on sustained public confidence in its moral sanction. Such feeling must be nourished by the Court's complete detachment, in fact and appearance, from political entanglements and by abstention from injecting itself into the clash of political forces and political settlements.
Earl Warren: A Political Biography by Earl Katcher, 1967

MILTON FRIEDMAN

Nothing is so permanent as a temporary government program.
favorite saying

Governments never learn. Only people learn.
favorite saying

History suggests that capitalism is a necessary condition for political freedom.
Capitalism and Freedom, 1962

The Great Depression, like most other periods of severe unemployment, was produced by government mismanagement rather than by any inherent instability of the private economy.
Ibid.

Inflation is taxation without legislation.
Comment on President Carter's plan to raise taxes to reduce inflation, 1979

Most of the energy of political work is devoted to correcting the effects of mismanagement of government.
PBS, "Firing Line," October 9, 1988

What kind of a society isn't structured on greed? The problem of social organization is how to set up an arrangement under which greed will do the least harm.
The Macmillan Book of Business and Economic Quotations

Most economic fallacies derive ... from the tendency to assume that there is a fixed pie, that one party can gain only at the expense of another.
Free to Choose (with Rose Friedman)

Self-interest is not myopic selfishness. It is whatever it is that interests the participants, whatever they value, whatever goals they pursue. The scientist seeking to advance the frontiers of his discipline, the missionary seeking to convert infidels to the true faith, the philanthropist seeking to bring comfort to the needy—all are pursuing their interests, as they see them, as they judge them by their own values.
Ibid.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

George Gilder

The man has the gradually sinking feeling that his role as provider, the definitive male activity from the primal days of the hunt through the industrial revolution and on into modern life, has been largely seized from him; he has been cuckolded by the compassionate state.

Wealth and Poverty

Real poverty is less a state of income than a state of mind.

Ibid.

A successful economy depends on the proliferation of the rich, on creating a large class of risk-taking men who are willing to shun the easy channels of a comfortable life in order to create new enterprise, win huge profits, and invest them again.

Ibid.

The first priority of any serious program against poverty is to strengthen the male role in poor families.

Ibid.

The welfare culture tells the man he is not a necessary part of the family; he feels dispensable, his wife knows he is dispensable, his children sense it.

Ibid.

Capitalism begins with giving. Not from greed, avarice, or even self love can one expect the rewards of commerce, but from a spirit closely akin to altruism, a regard for the needs of others, a benevolent, outgoing, and courageous temper of mind.

Ibid.

The differences between the sexes are the single most important fact of human society.

Men and Marriage

Barry Goldwater

I will offer a choice, not an echo.

January 3, 1964

We cannot allow the American flag to be shot at anywhere on earth if we are to retain our respect and prestige.

Remarks on the Gulf of Tonkin incident, August 1964

We Americans understand freedom; we have earned it, we have lived for it, and we have died for it. This nation and its people are freedom's models in a searching world. We can be freedom's missionaries in a doubting world.

Speech to the Republican National Convention, June 16, 1964

Those who seek to live your lives for you, to take your liberty in return for relieving you of yours, those who elevate the state and downgrade the citizen, must see ultimately a world in which earthly power can be substituted for divine will. And this nation was founded upon the rejection of that notion and upon the acceptance of God as the author of freedom.

Ibid.

Equality, rightly understood as our founding fathers understood it, leads to liberty and to the emancipation of creative differences; wrongly understood, as it has been so tragically in our time, it leads first to conformity and then to despotism.

Ibid.

A government that is big enough to give you all you want is big enough to take it all away.

October 1964

Phil Gramm

[T]he genius of the American system is that through freedom we have created extraordinary results from plain old ordinary people.

Interview in Policy Review, Fall 1989

Learned Hand

Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it.

Speech at "I Am An American Day," Central Park, May 20, 1945

Vaclav Havel

Because the regime is captive to its own lies, it must falsify everything. It falsifies the past. It falsifies the present, and it falsifies the future. It falsifies statistics. It pretends not to possess an omnipotent and unprincipled police apparatus. It pretends to respect human rights. It pretends to prosecute no one. It pretends to fear nothing. It pretends to pretend nothing.

The Power of the Powerless, 1978

My dear fellow citizens: For forty years you have heard from my predecessors on this day different variations of the same theme: how our country flourished, how many millions of tons of steel we produced, how happy we all were, how we trusted our government, and what bright perspectives were unfolding in front of us. I assume you did not propose me for this office so that I, too, would lie to you.

New Year's address to the Czech and Slovak people, 1990

[W]e live in a contaminated moral environment. We have fallen morally ill because we became used to saying one thing and thinking another. We have learned not to believe in anything, to ignore each other, to care only about ourselves. Notions such as love, friendship, compassion, humility, or forgiveness have lost their depth and dimensions.

Ibid.

The previous regime ... reduced man to a means of production and nature to a tool of production. Thus it attacked both their very essence and their mutual relationship. It reduced gifted and autonomous people to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nuts and bolts in some monstrously huge, noisy, and stinking machine.

Ibid.

Friedrich Hayek

It is of the essence of the demand for equality before the law that people should be treated alike in spite of the fact that they are different.

The Constitution of Liberty, 1960

The greatest danger to liberty today comes from the men who are most needed and most powerful in modern government, namely, the efficient expert administrators exclusively concerned with what they regard as the public good.

Ibid.

The great aim of the struggle for liberty has been equality before the law.

Ibid.

Liberty not only means that the individual has both the opportunity and the burden of choice; it also means that he must bear the consequences of his actions.... Liberty and responsibility are inseparable.

Ibid.

[W]here the sole employer is the State, opposition means death by slow starvation.

The Road to Serfdom

We shall all be the gainers if we can create a world fit for small states to live in.

Ibid.

The more the state "plans" the more difficult planning becomes for the individual.

Ibid.

Eric Hoffer

Scratch an intellectual and you find a would-be aristocrat who loathes the sight, the sound, and the smell of common folk.

First Things, Last Things, 1970

Sidney Hook

I was guilty of judging capitalism by its operations and socialism by its hopes and aspirations; capitalism by its works and socialism by its literature.

Out of Step

Those who say life is worth living at any cost have already written for themselves an epitaph of infamy, for there is no cause and no person they will not betray to stay alive.

Attributed

To silence criticism is to silence freedom.

New York Times Magazine, September 30, 1951

Lyndon Johnson

The family is the cornerstone of our society. More than any other force it shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale the community itself is crippled.

So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together, all the rest—schools, playgrounds, and public assistance, and private concern—will never be enough.

June 4, 1965

Paul Johnson

The argument that the West was somehow to blame for world poverty was itself a Western invention. Like decolonization, it was a product of guilt, the prime dissolvent of order and justice.

Modern Times

By early 1933, therefore, the two largest and strongest of Europe were firmly in the grip of totalitarian regimes which preached and practiced, and indeed embodied, moral relativism, with all its horrifying potentialities.

Ibid.

Throughout these years, the power of the State to do evil expanded with awesome speed. Its power to do good grew slowly and ambiguously.

Ibid.

Jack Kemp

There are no limits on our future if we don't put limits on our people.

April 6, 1987

America's mission to the world did not end when communism ended. Our mission is ongoing.... Our mission is to continue to tell the world that we are *for* the freedom and human rights of all men and women, for all time—and to do everything we can to transform the ancient dream and hope of freedom into a democratic reality everywhere! And with God's help we will.

November 30, 1990

John F. Kennedy

An economy hampered by restrictive tax rates will never produce enough revenue to balance our budget, just as it will never produce enough jobs or enough profits.

New York, December 14, 1962

Russell Kirk

The twentieth-century conservative is concerned, first of all, for the regeneration of spirit and character—with the perennial problem of the inner order of the soul, the restoration of the ethical understanding, and the religious sanction upon which any life worth living is founded. This is conservatism at its highest.

The Conservative Mind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[The conservative believes] in a transcendent order, or body of natural law, which rules society as well as conscience.

Ibid.

[Conservatives have an] affection for the proliferating variety and mystery of human existence, as opposed to the narrowing uniformity, egalitarianism, and utilitarian aims of most radical systems.

Ibid.

[C]ivilized society requires orders and classes.... If natural distinctions are effaced among men, oligarchs fill the vacuum. Ultimate equality in the judgment of God, and equality before courts of law, are recognized by conservatives; but equality of condition, they think, means equality in servitude and boredom.

Ibid.

Not by force of arms are civilizations held together, but by subtle threads of moral and intellectual principle.

Enlivening the Conservative Mind

Privilege, in any society, is the reward of duties performed.

Ibid.

The intelligent conservative combines a disposition to preserve with an ability to reform.

The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Conservatism

JEANE KIRKPATRICK

When Marxist dictators shoot their way into power in Central America, the San Francisco Democrats don't blame the guerrillas and their Soviet allies, they blame United States policies of one hundred years ago, but then they always blame America first.

Speech at the 1984 Republican Convention

Traditional authoritarian governments are less repressive than revolutionary autocracies.... They are more susceptible of liberalization, and ... they are more compatible with U.S. interests.

Dictatorships and Double Standards

IRVING KRISTOL

People need religion. It's a vehicle for a moral tradition. A crucial role. Nothing can take its place.

Two Cheers for Capitalism

[A neoconservative is] a liberal who has been mugged by reality.

Ibid.

A liberal is one who says that it's all right for an 18-year-old girl to perform in a pornographic movie as long as she gets paid the minimum wage.

Ibid.

[To believe that] no one was ever corrupted by a book, you almost have to believe that no one was ever improved by a book (or play, or a movie).... No one, not even a university professor, really believes that.

Reflections of a Neo-Conservative

Folio

"My dear fellow citizens ... I assume you did not propose me for this office so that I, too, would lie to you."—Vaclav Havel

[The Founding Fathers] understood that republican self-government could not exist if humanity did not possess ... the traditional "republican virtues" of self-control, self-reliance, and a disinterested concern for the public good.

Ibid.

His [Reagan's] posture was forward-looking, his accent was on economic growth rather than sobriety. All those Republicans with the hearts and souls of accountants—the traditional ideological curse of the party—were nervous, even dismayed.

Ibid.

A welfare state, properly conceived, can be an integral part of a conservative society.

American Spectator, 1977

It was a new kind of class war—the people as citizens versus the politicians and their clients in the public sector.

"Comments on Prop 13," Wall Street Journal, 1978

CHRISTOPHER LASCH

The Culture of Narcissism.

Book title

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LEE KUAN YEW

The Japanese inevitably will again play a major role in the world, and not just economically. They are a great people. They cannot and should not be satisfied with a world role that limits them to making better transistor radios and sewing machines, and teaching other Asians to grow rice.

Quoted in Richard M. Nixon's Leaders

C. S. LEWIS

We make men without chests and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honor and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and then bid the geldings to be fruitful.

The Abolition of Man

CHARLES M. LICHENSTEIN

We will put no impediment in your way, and we will be down at the dock bidding you a fond farewell as you sail off into the sunset.

Reply to a proposal to move the United Nations from New York City, September 19, 1983

RUSH LIMBAUGH

Poverty and suffering are not due to the unequal distribution of goods and resources, but to the unequal distribution of capitalism.

Policy Review, Summer 1992

I have come up with a new national symbol for the United States. I think we need to junk the eagle and come up with a symbol that is more appropriate for the kind of government we have today. We need to replace the eagle with a huge sow that has a lot of nipples and a bunch of fat little piglets hanging on them, all trying to suckle as much nourishment from them as possible.

The Way Things Ought to Be

I prefer to call the most obnoxious feminists what they really are: feminazis.

Ibid.

CLARE BOOTH LUCE

I am for lifting everyone off the social bottom. In fact, I am for doing away with the social bottom altogether.

Time, February 14, 1964

Whenever a Republican leaves one side of the aisle and goes to the other, it raises the intelligence quotient of both parties.

1956

Much of what [Henry] Wallace calls his global thinking is, no matter how you slice it, still globaloney.

Speech to Congress, February 9, 1943

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

It is fatal to enter any war without the will to win it.

Speech to the Republican National Convention, 1952

By profession I am a soldier and take great pride in that fact, but I am prouder, infinitely prouder, to be a father. A soldier destroys in order to build; the father only builds, never destroys. The one has the potentialities of death; the other embodies creation and life. And while the hordes of death are mighty, the battalions of life are mightier still.

Reminiscences

FRANK MEYER

Unless men are free to be vicious they cannot be virtuous.

In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Manifesto

LUDWIG VON MISES

There is simply no other choice than this: either abstain from interference in the free play of the market, or to delegate the entire management of production and distribution to the government. Either capitalism or socialism: there exists no middle way.

The Macmillan Book of Business and Economic Quotations, Michael Jackman, 1962

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

There is one unmistakable lesson in American history: a community that allows a large number of young men to grow up in broken families, dominated by women, never acquiring any stable relationship to male authority, never acquiring any set of rational expectations about the future—that community asks for and gets chaos. Crime, violence, unrest, disorder—most particularly the furious, unrestrained lashing out at the whole social structure—that is not only to be expected; it is very near to inevitable. And it is richly deserved.

Family and Nation, 1965

It [government] cannot provide values to persons who have none, or who have lost those they had. It cannot provide inner peace. It can provide outlets for moral energies, but it cannot create those energies.

Los Angeles Times, February 15, 1969

Somehow Liberals have been unable to acquire from birth what Conservatives seem to be endowed with at birth: namely, a healthy skepticism of the powers of government to do good.

New York Post, May 14, 1969

The issue of race could benefit from a period of benign neglect.

Memo to President Nixon, 1971

The single most exciting thing you encounter in government is competence, because it's so rare.

New York Times, March 2, 1976

CHARLES MURRAY

Incentives to fail.

Description of what the welfare system provides

We tried to provide more for the poor and produced more poor instead. We tried to remove the barriers to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

escape poverty, and inadvertently built a trap.

Losing Ground

Robert A. Nisbet

There is no principle in the conservative philosophy than that of the inherent and absolute incompatibility between liberty and equality.

Twilight of Authority

The quest for community will not be denied, for it springs from some of the powerful needs of human nature—needs for clear sense of cultural purpose, membership, status, and continuity.

The Quest for Community

Richard M. Nixon

The successful leader does not talk down to people. He lifts them up.

Leaders

In assembling a staff, the conservative leader faces a greater problem than does the liberal. In general, liberals want more government and hunger to be the ones running it. Conservatives want less government and want no part of it. Liberals want to run other people's lives. Conservatives want to be left alone to run their own lives.... Liberals flock to government; conservatives have to be enticed and persuaded. With a smaller field to choose from, the conservative leader often has to choose between those who are loyal and not bright and those who are bright but not loyal.

Ibid.

Michael Novak

Only slowly did I come to the precise capitalist insight: creativity is more productive than rote labor; therefore, the primary form of *capital* is mind.

"Errand Into the Wilderness"

Capitalism is ... a social order favorable to alertness, inventiveness, discovery, and creativity. This means a social order based upon education, research, the freedom to create, and the right to enjoy the fruit's of one's own creativity.

Ibid.

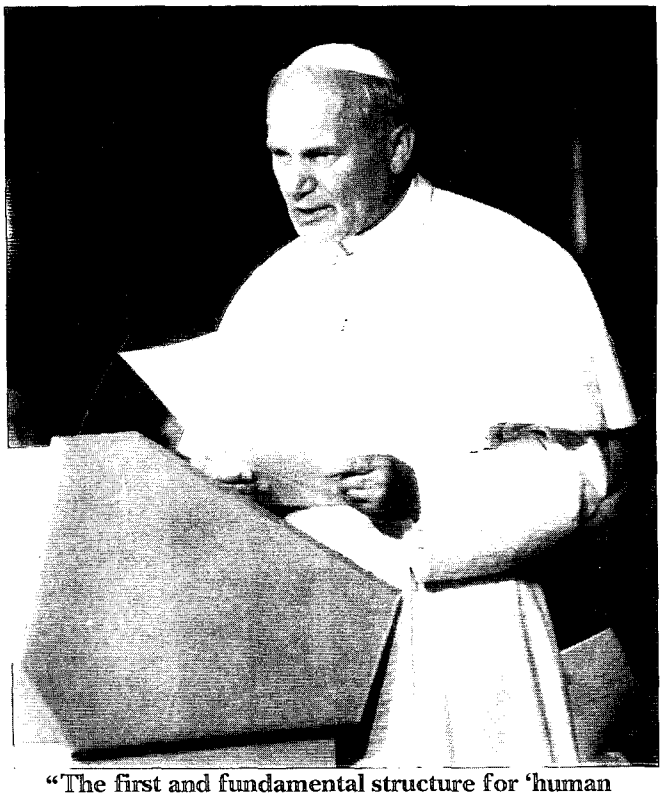
Where self-government is not possible in personal life, it remains to be seen whether it is possible in the republic. Every prognosis based on history would suggest that lack of self-government in the individual citizenry will lead to lack of restraint in the government of the republic.... Personal prodigality will be paralleled by public prodigality. As individuals live beyond their means, so will the state. As individuals liberate themselves from costs, responsibilities, and a prudent concern for the future, so will their political leaders. When self-government is no longer an ideal for individuals, it cannot be credible for the republic.

The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism

Michael Oakeshott

To be a conservative ... is to prefer the familiar to the unknown, to prefer the tried to the untried, fact to mystery, the actual to the possible, the limited to the unbounded, the near to the distant, the sufficient to the superabundant, the convenient to the perfect, present laughter to utopia's bliss.

Rationalism in Politics



Archive Photos

"The first and fundamental structure for 'human ecology' is the family." —Pope John Paul II

P. J. O'Rourke

Giving money and power to government is like giving whiskey and car keys to teenage boys.

Parliament of Whores

What is this oozing behemoth, this fibrous tumor, this monster of power and expense hatched from the simple human desire for civic order? How did an allegedly free people spawn a vast, rampant cuttlefish of dominion with its tentacles in every orifice of the body politic?

Ibid.

Wealth is, for most people, the only honest and likely path to liberty. With money comes power over the world. Men are freed from drudgery, women from exploitation. Businesses can be started, homes built, communities formed, religions practiced, educations pursued. But liberals aren't very interested in such real and material freedoms. They have a more innocent—not to say toddlerlike—idea of freedom. Liberals want the freedom to put anything into their mouths, to say bad words and to expose their private parts in art museums.

Give War a Chance

At the core of liberalism is the spoiled child—miserable, as all spoiled children are,, unsatisfied, demanding, ill-disciplined, despotic, and useless. Liberalism is a phi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

losophy of sniveling brats.

Ibid.

There is only one basic human right, the right to do as you damn well please.

Speech to the Cato Institute, 1993

There are just two rules of governance in a free society: Mind your own business. Keep your hands to yourself.

Ibid.

If you think health care is expensive now, wait until you see what it costs when it's free.

Ibid.

Octavio Paz

If there is one profoundly reactionary sector in Latin America, it is the leftist intellectuals. They are a people without memory. I have never heard one of them admit he made a mistake. Marxism has become an intellectual vice. It is the superstition of the entire century

Quoted by Alan Riding, New York Times, May 3, 1979

Pope John Paul II

The fundamental error of socialism is anthropological in nature. Socialism considers the individual person simply as an element, a molecule within the social organism, so that the good of the individual is completely subordinated to the functioning of the socio-economic mechanism. Socialism likewise maintains that the good of the individual can be realized without reference to his free choice, to the unique and exclusive responsibility which he exercises in the face of good or evil. Man is reduced to a series of social relationships, and the concept of the person as the autonomous subject of moral decisions disappears.

Centesimus Annus

The modern business economy has positive aspects. Its basis is human freedom exercised in the economic field.

Ibid.

There exists another form of ownership which is becoming no less important than land: the possession of know-how, technology and skill. The wealth of the industrialized nations is based much more on this kind of ownership than on natural resources.

Ibid.

Besides the earth, man's principal resource is man himself.

Ibid.

Where self-interest is suppressed, it is replaced by a burdensome system of bureaucratic control that dries up the wellsprings of initiative and creativity.

Ibid.

The first and fundamental structure for "human ecology" is the family, in which man receives his first ideas about truth and goodness and learns what it means to love and be loved, and thus what it means to be a person.

Ibid.

Colin Powell

I certainly agree that we should not go around saying we are the world's policemen. But guess who gets called when someone needs a cop?

New York Times, August 17, 1990

Lewis F. Powell Jr.

The guarantee of equal protection cannot mean one thing when applied to one individual and something else when applied to a person of another color. If both are not accorded the same protection, then it is not equal.

University of California v. Bakke, 1978

Ayn Rand

But what is freedom? Freedom from what? There is nothing to take man's freedom away from him, save other men. To be free, a man must be free of his brothers.

Anthem

If you ask me to name the proudest distinction of Americans, I would choose—because it contains all the others—the fact that they were the people who created the phrase "to *make* money." No other language or nation had ever used these words before; men had always thought of wealth as a static quantity—to be seized, begged, inherited, shared, looted, or obtained as a favor. Americans were the first to understand that wealth has to be created.

Atlas Shrugged

We are on strike, we, the men of the mind. We are on strike against self-immolation. We are on strike against the creed of unearned rewards and unrewarded duties. We are on strike against the dogma that the pursuit of one's happiness is evil. We are on strike against the doctrine that life is guilt.

Ibid.

Competition is a by-product of productive work, *not* its goal. A creative man is motivated by the desire to achieve, *not* by the desire to beat others.

Ayn Rand Letter

The motive [of egalitarianism] is not the desire to help the poor, but to destroy the competent. The motive is hatred of the good for being the good—a hatred focused specifically on the fountainhead of all goods, spiritual or material; the men of ability.

Philosophy: Who Needs It?

Ronald Wilson Reagan

Welfare's purpose should be to eliminate, as far as possible, the need for its own existence.

Los Angeles Times, January 7, 1970

It is not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work—work with us not, over us; stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster produc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tivity, not stifle it.

First Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981

This Administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy.

Ibid.

[N]o arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women.

Ibid.

Cures were developed for which there were no known diseases.

Commenting on Congress and the federal budget, 1981

Please tell me you're Republicans.

To surgeons as he entered the operating room, March 30, 1981

The years ahead are great ones for this country, for the cause of freedom.... The West won't contain communism. It will transcend communism. It will dismiss it as some bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

Notre Dame, May 17, 1981

We who live in free market societies believe that growth, prosperity and ultimately human fulfillment, are created from the bottom up, not the government down.

Only when the human spirit is allowed to invent and create, only when individuals are given a personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefitting from their success—only then can societies remain economically alive, dynamic, progressive, and free. Trust the people. This is the one irrefutable lesson of the entire postwar period contradicting the notion that rigid government controls are essential to economic development.

September 29, 1981

The size of the federal budget is not an appropriate barometer of social conscience or charitable concern.

Address to the National Alliance of Business, October 5, 1981

Government has an important role in helping develop a country's economic foundation. But the critical test is whether government is genuinely working to liberate individuals by creating incentives to work, save, invest, and succeed.

October 30, 1981

Government is the people's business and every man, woman and child becomes a shareholder with the first penny of tax paid.

Address to the New York City Partnership Association, January 14, 1982

We don't have a trillion-dollar debt because we haven't taxed enough; we have a trillion-dollar debt because we spend too much.

Address to National Association of Realtors, March 28,

AP/Wide World Photos

"Americans were the first to understand that wealth has to be created."—Ayn Rand

1982

It is the Soviet Union that runs against the tide of history.... [It is] the march of freedom and democracy which will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history as it has left other tyrannies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of the people.

Speech to Britain's Parliament, 1982

Let us beware that while they [Soviet rulers] preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination over all the peoples of the earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.... I urge you to beware the temptation ... to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of any evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong, good and evil.

Speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, March 8, 1983

I call upon the scientific community in our country, those who gave us nuclear weapons, to turn their great talents now to the cause of mankind and world peace, to give us the means of rendering those nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.

Address to the Nation, March 23, 1983

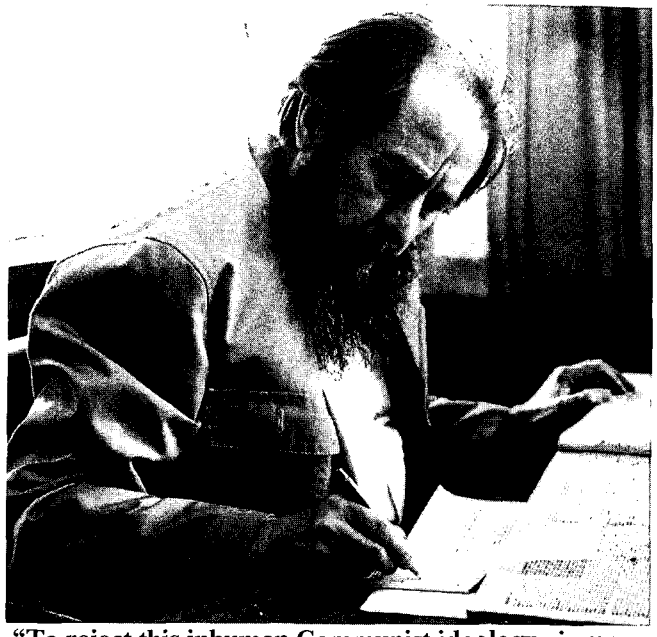
There are no such things as limits to growth, because there are no limits on the human capacity for intelligence, imagination and wonder.

Address to the University of South Carolina, Columbia, September 20, 1983

History teaches that wars begin when governments believe the price of aggression is cheap.

Address to the nation, January 16, 1984

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



AP/Wide World Photos

"To reject this inhuman Communist ideology...is more than a political act. It is a protest of our souls against those who would have us forget the concepts of good and evil."—Alexander Solzhenitsyn

We will always remember. We will always be proud. We will always be prepared, so we may always be free.

Normandy, France, June 6, 1984

The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead or the next. It was the deep knowledge—and pray God we have not lost it—that there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest.

Ibid.

We will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them—this morning, as they prepared for their journey, and waved good-bye, and "slipped the surly bonds of earth" to "touch the face of God."

Speech about the Challenger disaster, January 28, 1986

Government growing beyond our consent had become a lumbering giant, slamming shut the gates of opportunity, threatening to crush the very roots of our freedom.

What brought America back? The American people brought us back—with quiet courage and common sense; with undying faith that in this nation under God the future will be ours, for the future belongs to the free.

State of the Union Address, February 4, 1986

[G]overnment's view of the economy could be summed up in a few short phrases: If it moves, tax it. If it keeps moving, regulate it. And if it stops moving, subsidize it.

Remarks to the White House Conference on Small Business, August 15, 1986

The other day, someone told me the difference between a democracy and a people's democracy. It's the same difference between a jacket and a straitjacket.

Remarks at Human Rights Day event, December 10, 1986

How do you tell a Communist? Well, it's someone who reads Marx and Lenin. And how do you tell an anti-Communist? It's someone who understands Marx and Lenin.

Remarks in Arlington, Virginia, September 25, 1987

Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

Speech near the Berlin Wall, 1987

A friend of mine was asked to a costume ball a short time ago. He slapped some egg on his face and went as a liberal economist.

Ibid., February 11, 1988

Freedom is the right to question and change the established way of doing things. It is the continuous revolution of the marketplace. It is the understanding that allows to recognize shortcomings and seek solutions.

Address to students at Moscow State University, May 31, 1988

The best minds are not in government. If any were, business would hire them away.

Attributed

Republicans believe every day is 4th of July, but Democrats believe every day is April 15.

Attributed

Phyllis Schlafly

Supporting the Equal Rights Amendment is like trying to kill a fly with a sledge hammer. You don't kill the fly, but you end up breaking the furniture.... We cannot reduce women to equality. Equality is a step down for most women.

Boston Globe, June 16, 1974

Many other countries have made the mistake of mandating costly [employment] benefits, and they have mandated their citizens right out of jobs.

Testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, March 5, 1987

Norman Schwartzkopf

As far as Saddam Hussein being a great military strategist, he is neither a strategist nor is he schooled in the operational art nor is he a tactician nor is he a general nor is he a soldier. Other than that, he's a great military man.

Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, February 27, 1991

I don't consider myself dovish. And I certainly don't consider myself hawkish. Maybe I would describe myself as owlish—that is, wise enough to understand that you want to do everything possible to avoid war; that once you're committed to war, then ferocious enough to do

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whatever is necessary to get it over as quickly as possible in victory.

Interview in the New York Times, November 1, 1990

Alexander Solzhenitsyn

[N]owhere on the planet, nowhere in history, was there a regime more vicious, more bloodthirsty, and at the same time more cunning than the Bolshevik, the self-styled Soviet regime.

Gulag Archipelago

To reject this inhuman Communist ideology is simply to be a human being. Such a rejection is more than a political act. It is a protest of our souls against those who would have us forget the concepts of good and evil.

Warning to the West

We have placed too much hope in politics and social reforms, only to find out that we were being deprived of our most precious possession: our spiritual life.

A World Split Apart

Patriotism means unqualified and unwavering love for the nation, which implies not uncritical eagerness to serve, not support for unjust claims, but frank assessment of its vices and sins, and penitence for them.

From Under the Rubble

European democracy was originally imbued with a sense of Christian responsibility and self-discipline, but these spiritual principles have been gradually losing their force. Spiritual independence is being pressured on all sides by the dictatorship of self-satisfied vulgarity, of the latest fads, and of group interests.

Ibid.

To coexist with communism on the same planet is impossible. Either it will spread, cancer-like, to destroy mankind, or else mankind will have to rid itself of communism (and even then face lengthy treatment for secondary tumors).

The Mortal Danger

Communism will never be halted by negotiations or through the machinations of detente. It can only be halted by force from without or by disintegration from within.

Ibid.

Thomas Sowell

Many Americans who supported the initial thrust of civil rights, as represented by the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, later felt betrayed as the original concept of equal individual *opportunity* evolved toward the concept of equal group *results.*

Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality?

[T]here are many reasons, besides genes and discrimination, why groups differ in their economic performances and rewards. Groups differ by large amounts demographically, culturally, and geographically—and all these differences have profound effects on incomes and occupations.

Ibid.

Live people are being sacrificed because of what dead people did.

New York Times, July 1, 1990, regarding affirmative action and reverse discrimination

James K. Stewart

Poverty doesn't cause crime. Crime Causes poverty—or more precisely, crime makes it harder to break out of poverty. The vast majority of poor people are honest, law-abiding citizens whose opportunities for advancement are stunted by the drug dealers, muggers, thieves, rapists, and murderers who terrorize their neighborhoods.

Policy Review, Summer 1986

Crime is the ultimate tax on enterprise. It must be reduced or eliminated before poor people can fully share in the American dream.

Ibid.

Potter Stewart

The right to enjoy property without unlawful deprivation, no less than the right to speak out or the right to travel, is, in truth, a "personal right."

Lynch vs. HFC, 1972

Leo Strauss

Liberal relativism has its roots in the natural right tradition of tolerance or in the notion that everyone has a natural right to the pursuit of happiness as he understands happiness; but in itself it is a seminary of intolerance.

Natural Right and History

[A]bsolute tolerance is altogether impossible; the allegedly absolute tolerance turns into ferocious hatred of those who have stated clearly and most forcefully that there are unchangeable standards founded in the nature of man and the nature of things.

Liberalism Ancient and Modern

Margaret Thatcher

They have the usual socialist disease; they have run out of other people's money.

Speech to a Conservative Party Conference, October 10, 1975

Let our children grow tall, and some taller than others if they have it in them to do so.

1975

If we are safe today, it is because America has stood with us. If we are to remain safe tomorrow, it will be because America remains powerful and self-confident. When, therefore, the Americans face difficulties, we need to say to them more clearly: "We are with you...."

Address to the Pilgrims Society, January 30, 1981

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wars are not caused by the buildup of weapons. They are caused when an aggressor believes he can achieve his objectives at an acceptable price.

Address to a joint session of the U.S. Congress, February 20, 1985

The Labour Party believes in turning workers against owners; we believe in turning workers *into* owners.

Sunday Election Rally Speech, 1987

Hope is no basis for a defense policy.

Speech to a Conservative Party Conference, October 14, 1988

[C]ommunist regimes were not some unfortunate aberration, some historical deviation from a socialist ideal. They were the ultimate expression, unconstrained by democratic and electoral pressures, of what socialism is all about.... In short, the state [is] everything and the individual nothing.

March 8, 1991

Ronald Reagan won the Cold War without firing a shot.

The Heritage Foundation, 1991

With free trade you can have both large-scale economic efficiency and small-scale political decentralization.

Ibid.

No Western nation has to build a wall round itself to keep its people in.

Right Thinking

Freedom is not synonymous with an easy life.... There are many difficult things about freedom: It does not give you safety, it creates moral dilemmas for you; it requires self-discipline; it imposes great responsibilities; but such is the nature of Man and in such consists his glory and salvation.

Ibid.

Clarence Thomas

There is a tendency among young upwardly mobile, intelligent minorities today to forget. We forget the sweat of our forefathers. We forget the blood of the marchers, the prayers and hope of our race. We forget who brought us into this world. We overlook who put food in our mouths and clothes on our backs. We forget commitment to excellence. We procreate with pleasure and retreat from the responsibilities of the babies we produce. We subdue, we seduce, but we don't respect ourselves, our women, our babies. How do we expect a race that has been thrown into the gutter of socio-economic indicators to rise above these humiliating circumstances if we hide from responsibility for our own destiny?

Savannah State College, June 9, 1985

This is a circus. It is a national disgrace.... [I]t is a high-tech lynching for uppity-blacks who in any way deign to think for themselves, to do for themselves, to have different ideas, and it is a message that, unless you kowtow to an old order, this is what will happen to you, you will be lynched, destroyed, caricatured by a committee of the U.S. Senate, rather than hung from a tree.

Testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1991

Harry S. Truman

It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

Speech on aid to Greece and Turkey, March 12, 1947

The Communist world has great resources, and it looks strong. But there is a fatal flaw in their society. Theirs is a godless system, a system of slavery; there is no freedom in it, no consent. The Iron Curtain, the secret police, the constant purges, all these are symptoms of a great basic weakness—the rulers' fear of their own people.

In the long run the strength of our free society, and our ideals, will prevail over a system that has respect for neither God nor man.

Farewell Address, January 15, 1953

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.

New Age Liberalism was in essence nothing more complicated or noble than a running argument with life as it was led by normal Americans.

The Liberal Crackup

"Tyrrellism ... the technique of blackening an opponent's reputation by quoting him. Viewed as vulgar."

Ibid.

The absence of a literary sensibility among the conservatives abetted their proclivity for narrowness, for it shut them off from imagination and the capacity to dramatize ideas and personalities.

The Conservative Crackup

Lech Walesa

[O]ur souls contain exactly the contrary of what [the communists] wanted. They wanted us not to believe in God, and our churches are full. They wanted us to be materialistic and incapable of sacrifices; we are anti-materialistic, capable of sacrifice. They wanted us to be afraid of the tanks, of the guns, and instead we don't fear them at all.

Interview with the Washington Post

Richard Weaver

For four centuries every man has been not only his own priest but his own professor of ethics, and the consequence is an anarchy which threatens even that minimum consensus of value necessary to the political state.

Ideas Have Consequences

Man is constantly being assured today that he has more power than ever before in history, but his daily experience is one of powerlessness. If he is with a business organization, the odds are great that he has sacrificed every other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chas Geer for The Heritage Foundation

"Ronald Reagan won the Cold War without firing a shot."—Margaret Thatcher

kind of independence in return for that dubious one known as financial. Modern social and corporate organization makes independence an expensive thing; in fact, it may make common integrity a prohibitive luxury for the ordinary man.

Ibid.

GEORGE WILL

The theory is that election to Congress is tantamount to being dispatched to Washington on a looting raid for the enrichment of your state or district, and no other ethic need inhibit the feeding frenzy.

Oread Review

The best use of history is as an inoculation against radical expectations, and hence against embittering disappointments.

The Pursuit of Happiness and Other Sobering Thoughts

[A] determined assault on poverty is not only compatible with conservatism, but should be one of its imperatives in an urban, industrialized society.

Ibid.

This age ... defines self-fulfillment apart from, even against, the community. The idea of citizenship has become attenuated and is now defined almost exclusively in terms of entitlements.

Ibid.

[Freedom] is not only the absence of external restraints. It is also the absence of irresistible internal compulsions, unmanageable passion, and uncensorable appetites.

Statecraft as Soulcraft

The essence of childishness is an inability to imagine an incompatibility between one's appetite and the world. Growing up involves, above all, a conscious effort to conform one's appetites to a crowded world.

Ibid.

The concern is less that children will emulate the frenzied behavior described in porn rock than they will succumb to the lassitude of the de-moralized.

Morning After

The Cold War is over and the University of Chicago won it.

Editorial, December 9, 1991

JAMES Q. WILSON

There aren't any liberals left in New York. They've all been mugged by now.

Attributed

In the long run, the public interest depends on private virtue.

Public Interest, Fall 1985

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All I know is my little girl needs medicine.

And I can't afford it.

America's pharmaceutical research industry works to develop medicines for everyone. And everyone, especially the poor and the elderly, should be able to have them. That's why we support prescription drug coverage for every American. For information on this, and on our proposal to restrain price increases, call the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association at 1-800-538-2692.

A SOLUTION FROM AMERICA'S PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH COMPANIES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Look What We Can Accomplish When We All Work Together.

At R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company we are concerned about the environment...underage smoking...people getting along. From encouraging proper disposal of cigarettes and discouraging youth smoking, to helping create a climate where all people are treated with dignity and respect -- we're working with organizations and groups nationwide to do something about it. Here are just some examples...

Environmental Programs

Reynolds Tobacco is committed to the environment. We distribute a variety of materials -- ranging from posters to portable ashtrays -- to educate smokers about what they can do to reduce litter and keep the environment clean.

We're working with environmental organizations and local communities to communicate with consumers on how they can do their part.

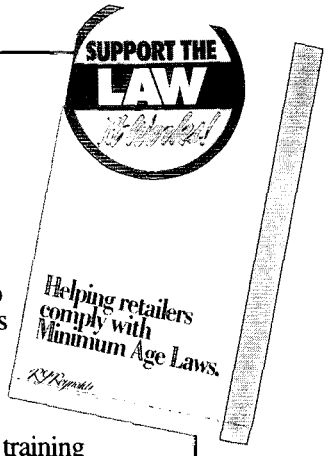
"Right Decisions Right Now"

Working with educators and experts, this special program has been developed to discourage youth smoking. Used in and around schools, this program includes special outdoor advertising, in-school posters, and teacher training materials to help instruct kids on how to resist peer influence to smoke.

"Support the Law... It Works"

Most states already have laws that prohibit the sale of cigarettes to minors. Research studies show that supporting these laws will reduce minors' access to cigarettes by over 50%. And this means a significant reduction in underage smoking.

We've worked with retailers nationwide to provide a comprehensive training program to help them comply with minimum age laws on all age restricted products, including tobacco.

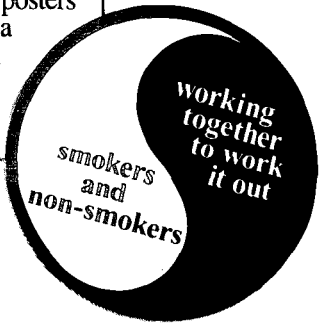


"How to Talk to Your Kids..."

Good communication has been shown to be an important deterrent to underage smoking. Working with parents and experts, we have developed a special parents information brochure, "How To Talk To Your Kids About Not Smoking Even If You Do." It's available free by calling 1-800-457-7200.

Peaceful Coexistence

In many public places, a wedge is being driven between smokers and non-smokers. R.J. Reynolds Tobacco's "Peaceful Coexistence" program is aimed at seeking solutions and better relations through courtesy and common sense. With the assistance of restaurant and bar owners, smokers and non-smokers, we're working to deliver this message on coasters, napkins, posters and other materials - provided free of charge. And they use a uniquely humorous approach to accomplish the serious task of building bridges instead of walls.



RJReynolds Tobacco Company

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©1992 R.J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.

Cultural Assault

What Feminists Are Doing to Rape Ought to Be A Crime

Margaret D. Bonilla

Rape is selling a lot of magazines these days. You can't walk past a newsstand without seeing dozens of articles—many written by avowed feminists—disclosing new evidence of a rape epidemic, and how we women can protect ourselves in the face of escalating aggression and violence against our gender.

The typical basis of these articles is that rape is distinct from other forms of violent crime. It is a crime *against women.* It is an act of subjugation *by men.* Rape presents a constant, all-pervasive threat; it can happen to a woman anywhere, at any time: on a date, at a family reunion, even in a marriage. The keys to preventing rape, feminists will tell you, are to change male-dominated cultural attitudes toward women, to get women to protect themselves, and to get Americans to take the issue of sexual violence more seriously.

The feminists are wrong. Rape is not the victimization of all women by all men; rape is a heinous crime committed by violent individuals against innocent victims. Americans have always taken this crime very seriously, so seriously that a rape conviction, until the 1960s, was punishable by death. The great majority of men in our society are not rapists; indeed, most men fear the rape of their wives, daughters, sisters, mothers, and other female loved ones as much as women themselves do.

As for stopping rapists, what the feminists don't tell you is that one of the best ways to prevent rape, and other violent crimes as well, is to put convicted criminals in jail and keep them there. A case in point is Willie Horton.

A Violent Man

Willie Horton was convicted for the 1974 murder of a Massachusetts teenage boy. The details of the crime are grisly: Willie Horton kidnapped the boy, stabbed him to death, and then castrated and dismembered his body. Mr. Horton was convicted of murder, and because of the ferocity of the crime, was sentenced to two life sentences in prison without possibility of parole.

As governor of Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis inherited a controversial program to grant convicted felons—even those with violent criminal records—weekend furlough privileges. Although Mr. Dukakis had been warned of the dangerous implications of the furlough program, he decided to leave it in place. And Willie Horton, although only eight years into his life sentence, was somehow assessed as an appropriate candidate for a furlough

Mr. Horton passed 10 uneventful furlough weekends in Massachusetts. On the 11th furlough, he fled the state, kidnapped a Maryland couple, and brutally raped the woman while forcing her fiance to watch; then he savagely beat the woman's fiance. He was caught and convicted in Maryland of first degree rape and assault.

When the public learned of Willie Horton, the outcry was swift and furious. The story was first covered by the Lawrence, Massachusetts *Eagle Tribune,* which won a Pulitzer Prize for its investigative reporting. During the 1988 Democratic primaries, Al Gore referred to Willie Horton to suggest that Mr. Dukakis was soft on violent crime, a theme picked up later by the Bush campaign. The Horton story was also featured in *Reader's Digest,* America's largest-circulation magazine. Americans were shocked that Governor Dukakis had used such poor judgment in furloughing a vicious criminal who was supposed to be serving two life sentences.

Grisly History

The Horton case was made more complicated because the rapist was black and his victims were white. Dukakis supporters and civil rights organizations accused the Bush campaign of exploiting racism and of perpetuating racist stereotypes. The grisly history of lynching in the American South had been closely linked to accusations, many of them false, of rape by black men against white women. There also had been a terrible pattern of discrimination within the legal system: between 1930 and 1965, for example, 408 blacks were executed for rape in the United States, compared with only 48 whites—even though more whites had been convicted of the crime. Dukakis supporters linked the Willie Horton story to this unfortunate history, turning it into a symbol of a smear campaign, not crime or violence.

Americans were not fooled; they saw the Horton story for exactly what it was, which was not a matter of race or

Margaret D. Bonilla *is managing editor of* Policy Review.

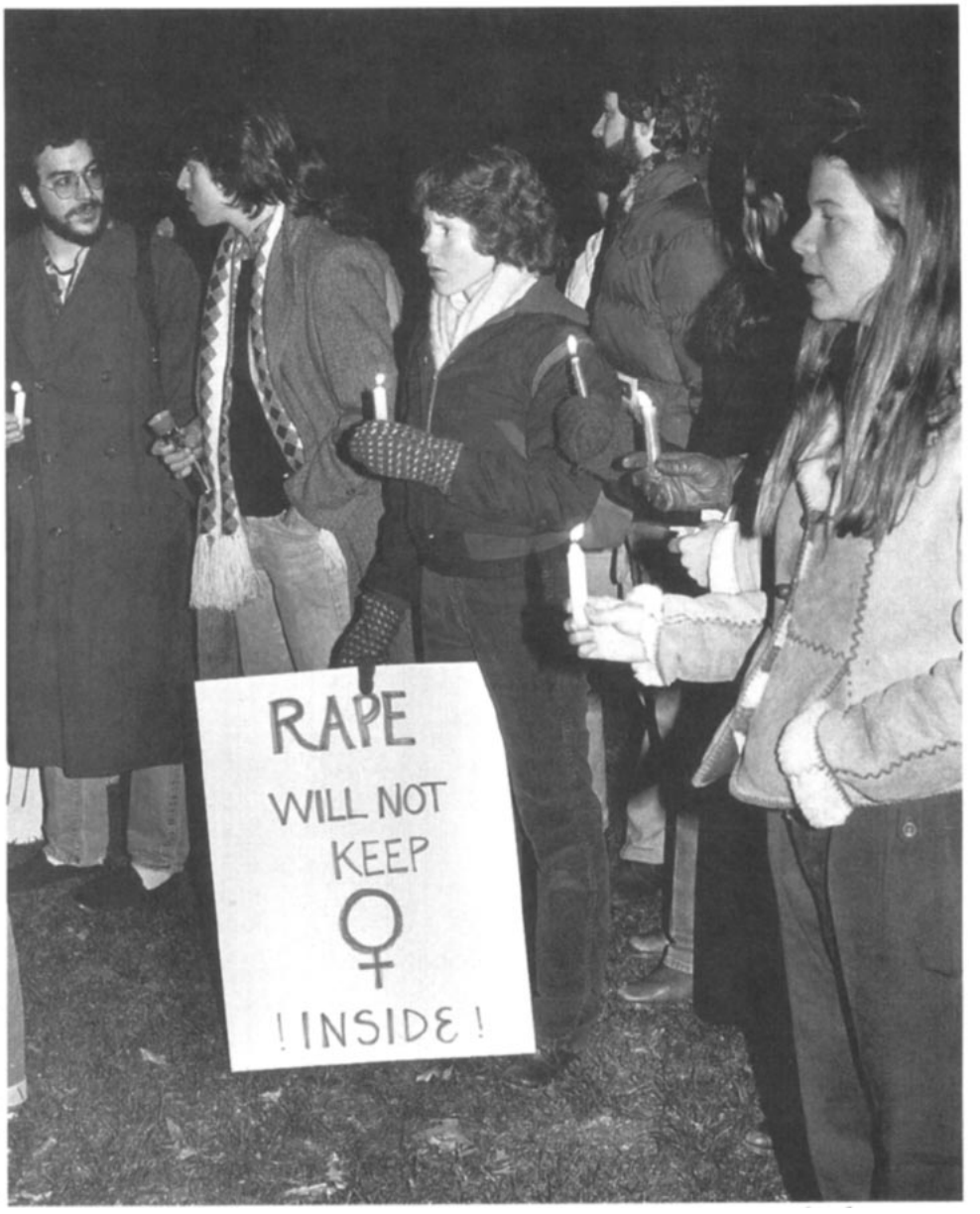
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political dirty tricks. Willie Horton's victims would have suffered just as terribly had he been white, as most rapists are. Michael Dukakis had allowed a dangerous criminal liberty that he did not deserve, and the result had been more violence: rape and assault. The public deserved to be protected from the likes of Willie Horton, and Mr. Dukakis had failed to do so. Mr. Dukakis's presidential campaign did not recover. The American people took the issue of rape more seriously than he did.

The Most Heinous Crime

Feminists who argue that rape is not taken seriously by society—or worse, that it has been tacitly condoned by our culture—need to open their history books. For millennia, rape has been regarded as one of man's most heinous, primitive, brutal crimes.

One of the early stories in the Bible concerns punishment for a rape. The sons of Jacob killed all the men of the Shechem after the rape of their sister Dinah. Not long afterward, Joseph was imprisoned in Egypt after Potiphar's wife accused him of making advances to her. The earliest known written law, the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, specified death as the punishment for raping a virgin; generally, the method of execution was for the rapist to be bound and thrown in the river. The Hebrews prescribed death by stoning for the rapist.



Feminists, in the name of safety, are scaring young women to death.

American rape laws derive from English law, which has had a long and unwavering position on rape. Before the Norman Conquest in 1066, the penalty for rape was death and dismemberment; this punishment continued until approximately the reign of William the Conqueror, who reduced the punishment to castration and blinding. Before the 13th century, rape generally was considered criminal only when committed against a virgin, especially against a betrothed virgin. But by the end of the 13th century, the concept of criminal rape had been broadened to include married women, nuns, widows, and even prostitutes. The Statutes of Westminster, first enacted in 1275, firmly established sex without a woman's consent as a crime punishable by death, generally death by hanging, which became the common punishment for rape in the young United States.

American sentiment historically has been unambiguous on the issue of rape. Rape has always been viewed as an extreme act of violence in our country, one of the few violent acts besides murder worthy of the death penalty.

Sanctions against rape in the American military go back as far as colonial times. George Washington forbade the Continental Army to engage in the practice, telling his troops that kindness toward women and children should be hallmarks of the revolutionary forces.

The official policies of U.S. armed forces have always been steadfast in their intolerance of rape; the crime is still punishable by death according to the Uniform Code of Military Justice, although no member of the U.S. military has been put to death for the crime since the early 1960s. Colonel Richard H. Black, Chief of the U.S. Army's Criminal Law Division, contends that the Army aggressively prosecutes sex-related crimes. "The military justice system provides strict punishment of sex offenders. Our most serious offenders are imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Almost half of those are being punished for various sex crimes. Their sentences are often lengthy."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

Willie Horton raped a Maryland woman while on a weekend furlough from a Massachusetts prison, where he was serving a double life sentence for murder.

Rape causes fear and outrage in communities where it occurs. Consider the profound anger of New Yorkers—indeed, from all Americans—in response the Central Park jogger's rape. Or the similar outcry when four teenage youths—team mates on their high school football team—sexually assaulted a retarded girl in Glen Ridge, New Jersey. The jury did not buy the defendants' argument that the girl was capable of consenting to sexual activity, which in this case included being raped with various objects, such as a baseball bat and a broom handle. Their "boys-will-be-boys" defense did not work; three of the four were convicted of sexual assault.

With the exception of a serial murder, almost nothing so galvanizes a community as the threat of a serial rapist in its midst. Communities plagued by a series of rapes often "circle the wagons," by demanding publicity from the local media, protection from the law enforcement authorities, and results from local politicians. Los Angeles was terrorized in the mid-1980s by Richard Ramirez, the so-called "Night Stalker," who robbed, raped and/or murdered dozens of victims before he was captured. The heinousness of his crimes—including raping women still lying next to their murdered husbands, enraged Los Angeleños, and surely was taken into account when Mr. Ramirez was sentenced to 13 death penalties.

In New York, during the summer of 1985, Russell West, Manhattan's "Midtown Rapist", stalked women in office buildings, forcing them at knife point to hallways or other secluded areas, and raping them. Men and women all over Manhattan demanded protection from their employers and action from the authorities. The public outcry and publicity resulting from the case helped catch the criminal. A retired police officer reading newspaper accounts of the attacks recognized the pattern of the assaults and supplied the New York authorities with the tip that led to Mr. West's arrest.

The horror against rape is not limited to the United States. Rape in wartime has been expressly prohibited by international law and condemned by all modern nations. When British propagandists sought to whip up anti-German sentiment during World War I, they accused German soldiers of massive rape in Belgium. Today Japan, which is still haunted by the charges of its army's brutality to women during World War II, is finally making a public apology for the outrages committed by its troops. And the Bosnian Serbs are universally denounced for committing brutal rapes and murders against Bosnian Muslim women, which they are cruel enough to film and broadcast on television.

Explosion in Violence

Contrary to feminist rhetoric, rape is a serious and growing criminal problem in the United States—in spite of, and not because of—our Judeo-Christian ethic and our Anglo-American legal tradition. In 1991, over 100,000 forcible rapes were reported to law enforcement agencies, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); the Justice Department estimated that over 170,000 rapes occurred in 1991, including a large number not reported to the authorities. Sex crimes experts believe that these figures are far too conservative, since many victims do not report the crime to the authorities. Everyone agrees that the problem is increasing.

But these numbers must be considered in the context of overall violent crime, which also increased during the period. The simple fact is that rape is a serious problem in America because violent crime is a serious problem in America. The increased rape in the United States is occurring against a backdrop of escalating violence of all kinds: drive-by shootings, mass shootings, gang warfare, various drug violence, random assault, and murder. The level of all violent crime rose 24 percent from 1987 to 1991, according to the FBI; rape rose 13 percent in the same period. As with violent crime in general, rape is much more common in cities than in suburban or rural areas. You won't find much rape in Wyoming or rural Michigan, where people still leave their doors unlocked.

While the United States has one of the highest levels of rape in the world, rape is virtually unknown in countries with low levels of violent crime—a fact that demolishes the feminist arguments about the universal male propensity for rape. The rape rate in the United States is four times higher Germany's, 13 times higher than England's, and 20 times higher than Japan's. All of these countries have commensurately lower levels of violent crime than the United States.

One of the most disturbing trends in the criminal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

statistics, including rape and other violent crimes, is the huge jump in the number of young offenders. Violent crime committed by juveniles—those between the ages of 10 and 17—is rising faster than in any other group. Between 1965 and 1990, the rate of juveniles committing rape rose from 11 percent to 22 percent. The overall rate of juvenile violent crime increased 27 percent from 1980 - 1990, including arrests for murder, rape, aggravated assault, drug abuse, and weapons violations.

A particularly disturbing aspect of juvenile rape is gang rape. In 1990, 62 percent of multiple-offender rapes were committed by juveniles. Young gang rapers are often intimidated by peer pressure. Individually, many of the participants in a gang rape normally would never commit such a sick act. Often the rape is driven by one or two members of the group who have the psychological make-up of a rapist, and these individuals lead the pack. In a group, with peers egging each other on, the rape takes on a "rite-of-passage" quality, with some members acting as willing participants and others too afraid to stop the crime. Gang rapes often turn sadistic through a kind of "mob psychology," and sexual torture of the victim is often the result.

Rapists, whether juvenile or adult, share a number of common traits. Anger, hatred, and a deep-seated need to possess or control are central to the make-up; rapists seek to degrade and humiliate their victims. Rapists often come from violent pasts; many are found to have been abused as children, or been brought up in violent households. Many lead solitary lives.

Rapists often engage in other types of violent behavior; it is not uncommon for a convicted rapist to have other violent crimes on his record. The charismatic Ted Bundy, executed in 1989 for two murders and suspected in a series of slayings, was a rapist as well. Duncan McKenzie, who raped, bludgeoned and decapitated a young Montana woman in a spectacular case in 1974, had a history of violence, including assault. Champion boxer Mike Tyson, convicted of the rape of a beauty contestant in 1991, was a criminal with a long, violent rap sheet long before Don King and the boxing world discovered him.

Sex is incidental to the rapist. Sex is not the goal of a rape; rather, power, control, and the degradation of the victim, sometimes through sadism, are the goals. Alice Vachss, a former district attorney in Queens County, New York, who specialized in prosecuting sex crimes, puts it this way: "People who think rape is about sex confuse the weapon with the motivation." She calls rapists "single-minded, sociopathic beasts."

Lock 'Em Up

Convicted rapists are more likely to commit another rape after their release from prison than released prisoners with no history of rape. Some 8 percent of rapists are re-arrested for another rape within three years of their release from prison, many while they are on parole. At current levels, that number would reflect over 10,000 new rapes annually. Many criminal experts consider sex-crimes offenders to be among the most likely recidivists, and poor candidates for rehabilitation.

The way to prevent recidivist rapes is to keep rapists locked up. On average, a convicted rapist serves only one third of his sentence; some are paroled in less than a year. Judges and parole boards often cite prison-space constraints as the reason for paroling violent criminals before their terms are completed. If we need more jails to house vicious criminals and keep them incarcerated, then we must build them. We must demand of our law makers and enforcers long sentences for convicted rapists, and indeed for all violent criminals, even juvenile offenders. We must demand also that these criminals serve the time they are sentenced.

When the FBI released its Uniform Crime Report in 1991, then-Attorney General William P. Barr said the huge jump in juvenile violent crime would require a "wholesale restructuring" of the juvenile justice system. Mr. Barr went on to say, "The long-term solution of juvenile crime falls largely outside the law enforcement system. It requires strengthening those basic institutions—the families, schools, religious institutions and community groups—that are responsible for instilling values and creating law abiding citizens."

> I have interviewed several rape victims who are shocked and dismayed at rape being transformed from a criminal issue to a feminist political symbol.

Law and Order

Contrary to some feminists' assertions, rape is a very serious matter to law enforcement officials, but these same officials will acknowledge that it is often difficult to catch and convict rapists.

First, rape presents particular evidentiary problems. Generally, to get a rape conviction requires prosecutors to have sufficient forensic evidence, including: visible bruising, lacerations, or other signs of physical trauma, and analysis of blood, hair, and DNA to support the rape charge. This evidence is not always easily collected or preserved, especially in cases where the rape is reported too long after its occurrence. There is no question that some rapes are not prosecuted for lack of evidence. This may explain why rape has the highest "unfounded" rate of any violent crime, that is, the percentage of complaints determined upon investigation to be false or unsubstantiated. The 1991 unfounded rate for rape was 8 percent, while the average rate of unfounded complaints for all other violent crimes was only 2 percent.

Moreover, a large number of rapes go unreported. Many women, fearing publicity and the public exhumation of their pasts, decide it is not worth carrying through a rape charge to prosecution. The majority of women who are raped – some 70 to 80 percent – know their attackers,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and this often serves as a deterrent as well. Rape has a higher rate of dismissal than other violent crimes, probably because of the reluctance of rape victims to carry through with pressing charges when they know their attackers.

Similar problems exist in fighting other violent crimes, however. Justice officials estimate that only about half of the victims of violence ever go to the police. Rape is reported at about the same rate as aggravated assault and robbery, and rape is actually reported slightly more often than the average for all violent crimes.

And as with rape, victims of other violent crimes, including murder, are likely to know their assailants: Justice Department statistics show that roughly half of all violent crime victims are either acquainted with or related to their attackers.

Rape also parallels other violent crimes in terms of the difficulty of getting convictions and incarcerations. Conviction rates for rape in 1988, for example, were actually slightly ahead of those for robbery and assault. And of those rapists convicted, over 80 percent were sentenced to do time in a jail or prison, about the same number as those convicted of robbery, and more than those convicted of assault.

These numbers suggest that rape is still a very serious matter to law enforcement agencies and the courts. But the court and prison systems are faced with the same problem of overload with rape as they are for other crimes.

Rape is not the victimization of all women by all men; rape is a heinous crime committed by violent individuals against innocent victims.

Trivializing Rape

Feminists sometimes imply, and often state outright, that rape has been accepted throughout history as a normal consequence of a male-dominated society: the victimization of all women by all men. They see a history where rape has been "winked at" because the value of women was considered to be less than that of men. This point of view is false, and it cheapens the gravity with which Judeo-Christian and Anglo-American societies have always treated rape. If rape really is a natural male compulsion, a consequence of an immovably patriarchal society, then there is not much we can do to reduce it but separate the sexes.

The issue of date rape, which is driving the current frenzy of rape stories in the media, threatens to trivialize the serious nature of rape altogether. Especially on college campuses, where date rapes are allegedly taking place in epic numbers, there is a palpable climate of anger and fear about the chances of being raped or sexually assaulted.

It is important to say that date rapes do occur—violent, harmful attacks that are no less criminal for the victim being an intimate of the attacker. Similarly, rapes do occur in marriages, often as part of a pattern of violence; many battered spouses report having been raped or sexually assaulted. No rape is tolerable, regardless of the circumstances or the relationship of the rapist to the victim.

It is precisely because of the horror of such attacks that the issue must not be trivialized. Rape is not an attitude or a psychological climate, it is a brutal sex crime. Katie Roiphe, writing in the *New York Times Magazine*, noted that the lines between sex and rape were becoming "blurred" in the date rape discussion. This distinction must remain clear and absolute. If we begin to confuse sex with rape, as some feminists would prefer—counting unfortunate but not forcible sexual encounters as rape, and including as victims a large group of women who may have only miscommunicated their intentions or made a bad decision—we risk undermining our culture's abhorrence of this heinous crime.

Redefining Rape

Over the last few years, however, a movement has developed aimed at expanding the definition of rape to include the use of verbal intimidation, coercion, or manipulation—rather than physical force—and to suggest that a woman who has been given alcohol or other drugs by a man is not responsible for the sex that may follow. This movement, driven largely by feminists who claim that the gains women have made over the past several decades are being eroded by continuing male domination of the culture, is gaining momentum, especially on college campuses.

Seminars, lectures, literature, and forums urge coeds to "take back the night" from male hostility and aggression. Women in women's studies, feminist history, and feminist legal theory classes are taught that rape and other sex crimes are the natural outgrowth of our patriarchal society. As the weaker members of such a culture, women are victims, and sexual violence falls within the range of what the male culture views as normal. Sex is degrading to women, and rape is the victimization of women by men. All men are potential rapists.

One of the leading advocates of this theory is Catharine MacKinnon, a professor of law at the University of Michigan. Ms. MacKinnon is among the most prolific writers on the topic of sexual violence against women; she has been particularly strident in her campaign against pornography, which she sees as a form of sexual repression and violence. Ms. MacKinnon has written that in America "Rape is not illegal, it is regulated," and urged her readers to "Compare victims reports of rape with women's reports of sex. They look a lot alike." Another MacKinnon maxim is that our culture legitimizes violence to women through the family structure.

Even other feminists have objected to Ms. MacKinnon's assertions that the sex act itself is demeaning to women, that child-bearing is a form of subjugation, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

One of the best ways to prevent rape is to put convicted criminals in jail and keep them there.

that sex is often a form of rape. Yet Ms. MacKinnon's classes have long waiting lists, and her lectures at universities and college campuses are packed.

But such silliness has been fueled by statistical reports purported to prove that violence against women is an epidemic on campus, and that college women are being compelled, through coercion and intimidation if not brute force, to have sex against their wills.

Another Epidemic Study

One of the most prominent of the studies supporting this idea is one undertaken by *Ms.* magazine and directed by Mary Koss, a professor of psychology at the University of Arizona and a well-known advocate of the date-rape expansion theory. The *Ms.* Magazine Campus Project, as the study is known, was funded in part by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), lending it a sort of "officialness" often found in what are actually advocacy studies. The *Ms.* study produced alarming figures. According to the data collected from some 6,000 women at 32 colleges, the study projected that 27 percent of female college students had been victims of rape or attempted rape twice between the ages of 14 and 21 years old. Professor Koss also calculated that in one 12-month period, 17 percent of coeds suffered a rape or an attempted rape.

Writing in *The Public Interest*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and elsewhere, Neil Gilbert, a professor of Social Welfare at the University of California at Berkeley, has shown that the *Ms.* study vastly inflates the magnitude of the problem on campuses. Only three of the five questions in the survey mentioned threat or use of physical force as a basis for discerning whether or not a rape had occurred; the other two questions involved the use of alcohol or drugs, specifically the woman being given alcohol or drugs by the man, and then having intercourse she did not desire as a result. It is important to note that sometimes it is Ms. Koss who first is identifying these women as victims of rape, and not the victims themselves. Whether these same students would have identified their experiences as rapes without Ms. Koss's prodding remains unknown.

Professor Gilbert observes the discrepancy between the *Ms.* study's definition of rape and the way most of the respondents viewed their experiences: When asked directly, 73 percent of the students whom Koss categorized as victims of rape did not think that they had been raped. This discrepancy is underscored by the subsequent behavior of a high proportion of identified victims, 42 percent of whom had sex again with the man who supposedly raped them.

Professor Gilbert also notes the huge discrepancy between the number of rapes that allegedly take place on campuses and the numbers reported to campus authorities. Although it would not be unusual for a coed who is raped not to report the rape to the campus police or security office, many campuses have confidential rape crisis centers where rape victims can receive counseling and help in such circumstances without reporting to the police. These centers too have reported relatively low numbers of victims compared to the numbers we would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Jersey Newsphotos

The brutal sexual assault of a retarded girl by four high-school football teammates in Glen Ridge, New Jersey, shocked the community and the nation.

expect if the *Ms.* projections were accurate.

Rethinking Animal House

The premise that college women are being plied with alcohol or drugs and then manipulated into bed is not new; our grandmothers warned our mothers about this trap. What *is* new is that in the current sexual climate, the woman need not take responsibility for her behavior. Today you don't even have to blame an unintended sexual encounter on being drunk or high: the man is at fault for giving you the intoxicant; it is not your fault for consuming it.

If all men are rapists, all women victims, and all dates loaded with the potential of rape, then it follows that women should just stay home rather than risk associating with their male counterparts except in groups and public places. All of this is, of course, absurd. The idea that most men, whether college age, or older or younger, are slipping their dates "Mickey Finns" while the helpless woman abandons all responsibility is insulting and regressive.

But there exists on many campuses a growing sense of women in peril, at risk of becoming victims. Feminists, in the name of safety, are scaring young women to death. How this atmosphere of impending violence and victimization actually produces confident, assertive women or better relations between the sexes is unclear.

To the degree that more campus rape is happening, we can attribute at least part of the increase to the lack of discipline on campuses today. Alcohol use is a routine part of student life on many campuses, even when the students are not yet the legal drinking age. Drug use is still widespread. Wild parties, such as the fraternity and dorm parties that are known for intense drinking and sex—are still tolerated. And coed dorms without parietals encourage free association of young men and women at all hours without any supervision. Many young people go off to college with the idea that anything goes once they are out from under their parents' wings, and the colleges often look the other way until a problem surfaces. If we really want to change campus behavior, some of these facts need to be considered.

Colleges will probably be forced by legal concerns to address some of these problems, whether they want to or not. A recent case at the University of California at Santa Cruz—a school famous for its social liberalism—illustrates how explosive the campus rape problem may prove to be. In the Santa Cruz case, a coed allegedly was raped by two students at a dorm party after she became drunk and had consensual sex with one of their friends. The local district attorney declined to prosecute because of conflicting witness accounts and lack of evidence. The boys in question were briefly suspended while the University conducted its own investigation, but eventually they were reinstated.

The consequent outcry from the student community and parents provoked the U.S. Department of Education to launch its own investigation into how UCSC had handled allegations of rape and sexual harassment since

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1988, and whether or not the university sought to play down these incidents, thus allowing a "hostile environment" toward women to develop. The investigation and ensuing publicity have had the predictable result; UCSC officials have hired a full-time employee to run a campus-wide educational program on sexual harassment and assault. Whether the university will also crack down on campus parties remains to be seen.

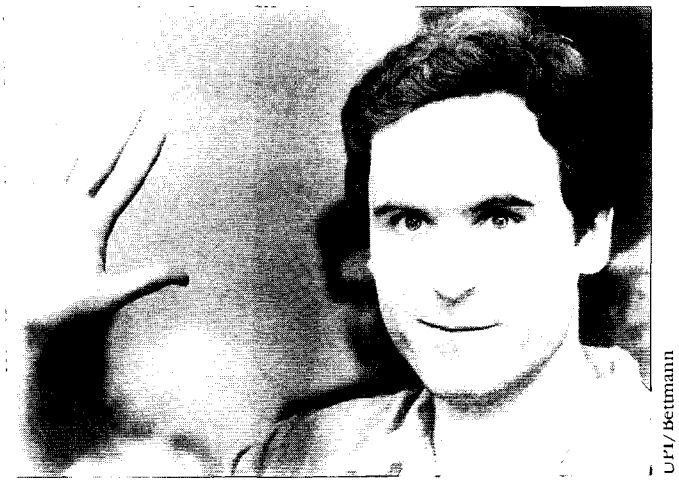
Take Back the Knight

It is hard to imagine a return to the strictures of the 1950s on today's campuses, but at least in those days everyone knew what the rules were, and who was responsible for obeying them. For better or worse, the imperative of not getting pregnant was enough to curb a great deal of promiscuous sexual activity before birth control became widely available. Today, the primary risk of casual sex is the contraction of AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases; many young people do not take these risks seriously enough. Rather than "taking back the night," we should concentrate on raising responsible young men and women.

When I was in college in the late 1970s, there were rock-solid criteria for being a smart girl, and they didn't include taking self-defense classes. Among the rules: not drinking too much; not going home with a boy or a man you did not know; not letting intimate encounters get out of control if you were not prepared to face the consequences. Getting drunk and waking up in the wrong bed may have been regrettable. Certainly "getting talked into it" is a rueful memory. But seduction is not rape. My friends and I took responsibility for our actions and decisions in every area; certainly we did not cede ground in sensitive matters of sexuality. And we stayed away from men with bad reputations, those who drank too much, had bad tempers, or were known users or abusers of women. I hate to think that when my young daughter goes to college her standards for herself will be any lower.

And what of our sons? My husband and I are teaching our sons to be gentlemen—almost a forgotten concept today. Gentlemen do not rape retarded girls, nor do they take sexual advantage of drunken women. I want my young sons, and my daughter, for that matter, to grow up knowing that it is wrong to take advantage of anybody; hopefully this will lead to chivalrous behavior—toward men and women—as they mature.

The basis of our children's training is that they must not put their own gratification before the rights of others. They must learn to control their impulses, and to stay away from those who cannot. They must learn to be kind, and to take responsibility for their own actions. They must learn to respect men and women as equals. And they must learn that even in our liberated age, all sexual relationships have consequences. Hopefully they will carry these lessons forward, into the ever-more dangerous world they will meet. Not enough parents today are teaching their sons and daughters the basic moral lessons they need to cope with the choices available to them. It is hard work and requires constant attention, but it is the least our children deserve.



UPI/Bettmann

Rape often occurs as part of a violent pattern. Ted Bundy, executed for two murders in 1989 and suspected in many other murders, was also a rapist.

More Than a Symbol

To trivialize rape is an affront to the real victims of this horrible crime, who have endured unimaginable trauma and suffering at the hands of violent criminals. I have interviewed several rape victims who are shocked and discouraged at the prospect of rape being transformed from a criminal issue to a feminist political symbol.

Over the last decade, feminist pressure for responsible media coverage and serious pursuit and prosecution of rapists has encouraged many more rape victims to come forward. We are showing new sensitivity to the victim of rape, encouraging her to press charges, and trying not to stigmatize her for doing so. Certainly the climate in America today is less accusatory of the rape victim, and victims are coming forward in increasing numbers. And to the extent that feminists have helped create this new climate, we should be grateful. The only way to catch and prosecute rapists is for their victims to go to law enforcement agencies and cooperate in getting them convicted.

Once the rapist is caught and convicted, we must demand that he serve a long prison sentence, and we must insist that violent criminals be kept incarcerated. These actions, rather than further expanding the definition of rape, will lower the rape numbers.

The danger in expanding the definition of rape so broadly is that it will cease to be considered as the heinous act of violence that it is: We will become cynical about the crime and its victims. We will no longer understand what rape is, and what it is not. If we lose sight of this crucial distinction, it will become harder to prosecute and convict those who truly are guilty of this crime.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prelude to a Landslide

How Republicans Will Sweep the Congress

Grover G. Norquist

To: Republican Congressional Leaders
From: Grover Norquist
Re: Republican Victories in the 1996 election
Date: November 9, 1996

The Left has known for months that it would lose the White House, but the capture of the Senate and House by the Republicans and the overwhelming gains made at the state level have left the Democrats in disarray. Speaker Gephardt was on CBS blaming the disaster on Bill and Hillary Clinton, but could not answer Dan Rather's question about why so many Democratic city councilmen and mayors went down.

I agree with David Broder that the Republican Party has finally accomplished a true realignment. He cheerfully points out, however, that the last time the Republicans took the White House, Senate, and House was in 1952, and we lost the House and Senate two years later. With that in mind, I enclose my thoughts on what we did right over the past four years. If we Republicans can understand how we built this victory, perhaps we can turn it into a repeat not of 1952, but of 1896, and usher in a generation of Republican dominance in national politics.

Grass Roots Rebellions

I believe the wave of initiative elections in 1992 and 1994 paved the way for Republican electoral victories this year. Eighteen years ago, the July 1978 landslide victory of Proposition 13 in California foreshadowed the victory of Ronald Reagan running as a tax cutter; the Republican takeover in 1980 of the Senate and the 34-seat pickup in the House was based on the party's subsequent endorsement of the Kemp–Roth tax cut. In the same way, the initiatives of 1992 and 1994 helped define the issues and energize conservative voters and activists.

Back in 1976 Ronald Reagan ran as a budget-cutting Republican. Only after the victory of Proposition 13 did Reagan bring the supply-side, tax-cutting strategy to the fore. By November 1978, the entire Republican Party was running on tax cuts as the national issue and a half dozen other states passed Proposition 13-style initiatives. The issue rose up from the grassroots to the party and Reagan was smart enough to run with it.

The initiative battles of 1992 and 1994 gave the Republicans not just one winning issue but a multi-faceted agenda with depth, broad appeal, and an army of activists determined to change national politics.

In November 1992, initiatives were passed in 14 states to limit the number of terms members of Congress can serve. These initiatives survived the taxpayer-funded challenges in the court because they were specifically written to fit the Constitution's assignment of power to the states to determine ballot access. Those 14 initiatives in 1992 and the eight others that passed in 1994 all state simply that a candidate can only appear on the ballot a limited number of times; usually three times for the House and twice for the Senate. Write-ins would be allowed, but they would be unlikely to succeed.

When the New Hampshire and New Jersey legislatures passed term limits on members of Congress, it brought the number of states under term limits to 25: covering fully half of the Senate and 156 members of the House.

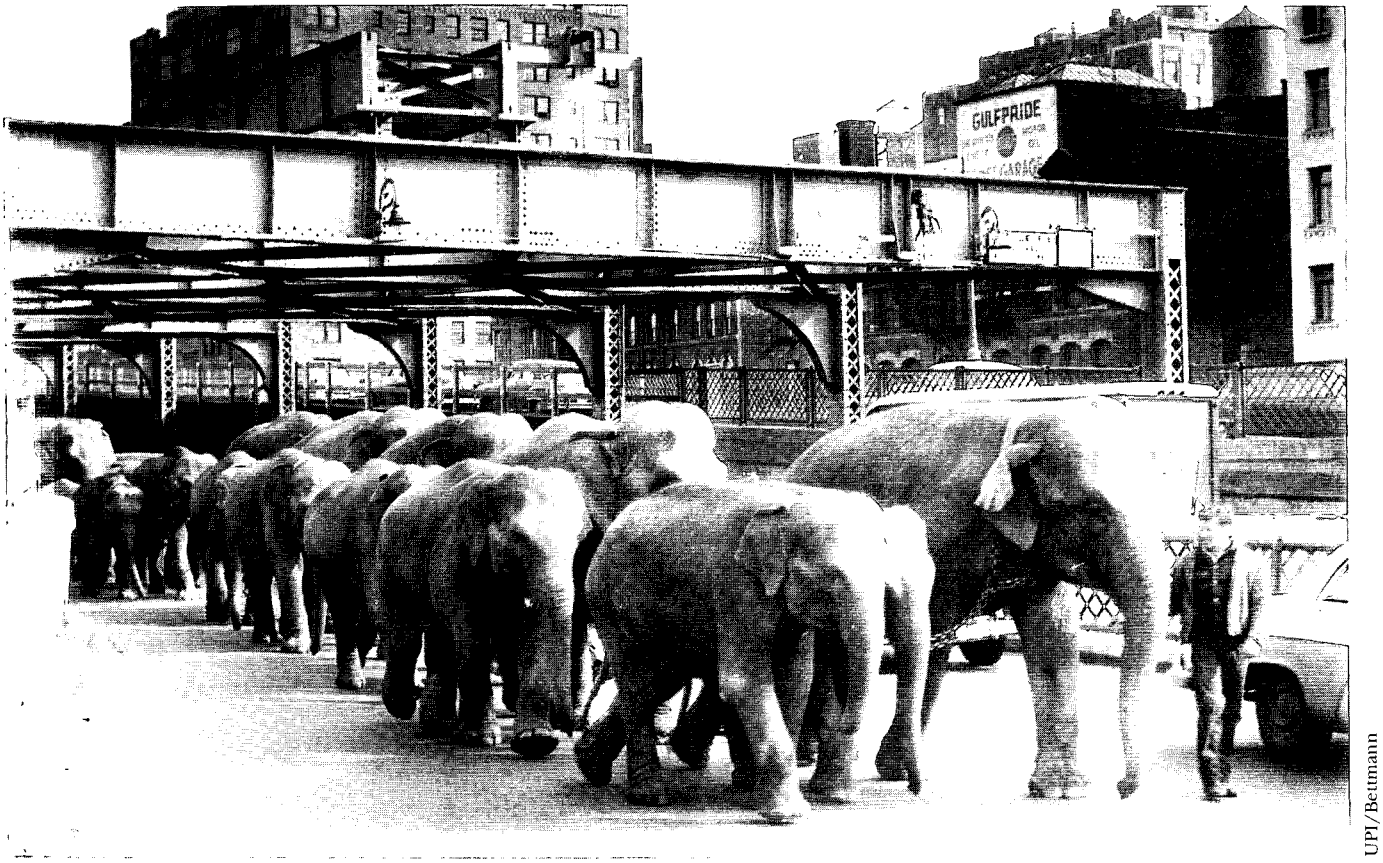
The Ticking Tax Bomb

The late Lee Atwater's admirers remind us that he pushed the party to endorse term limits early—it was in the 1988 and 1992 Republican platforms—and House Republican freshmen in 1991 forced through the rule that no Republican could have a ranking position on a House committee for more than six years in a row. After the 1994 election, the Republicans in the House expanded that to limit tenure on any committee to six years, and the Senate Republicans followed suit. The Republican Party was ahead of the curve on term limits and flexible in meeting the challenge term limits pose to elected officials. The Democrats hurt themselves by visibly opposing term limits—which passed in 1992 with an average of 66 percent support and in 1994 with more than 70 percent. Ross Perot, typically, endorsed term limits only after they were a *fait accompli.*

But term limits were just one prong of a populist offensive. In 1992, Arizona passed Proposition 108, a constitutional amendment requiring that any tax hike at the state level would need a two-thirds vote in the state

Grover Norquist *is president of Americans for Tax Reform.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



UPI/Bettmann

The populist initiatives poured energy, activists, and ideas into Republican candidates and eventually into the party.

legislature. Colorado that year passed Proposition One, which required that any tax hike would require a vote of the people. Colorado's initiative further required a vote of the people to raise spending above inflation and population growth, or to increase debt. If a state, county, city, or town government in Colorado wanted more cash, it had to explain why to the people and get approval at a regularly scheduled general election—no special elections in August that only the public employee unions were aware of. Only two local tax increases have been enacted in Colorado since 1992.

The Colorado and Arizona initiatives spawned imitations that appeared on the ballot in 12 states in 1994. All 12 passed. I loved it when in 1996 some of those states that had required a vote of the people to raise taxes in 1994 added a requirement to also get two-thirds of the legislature; those states that had followed Arizona and required a super majority of the legislature to raise taxes in 1994 also decided to require a vote of the people on the 1996 ballot. "Put not your trust in men, but bind them down with the chains of the constitution...."

Crime Pays—At the Ballot Box

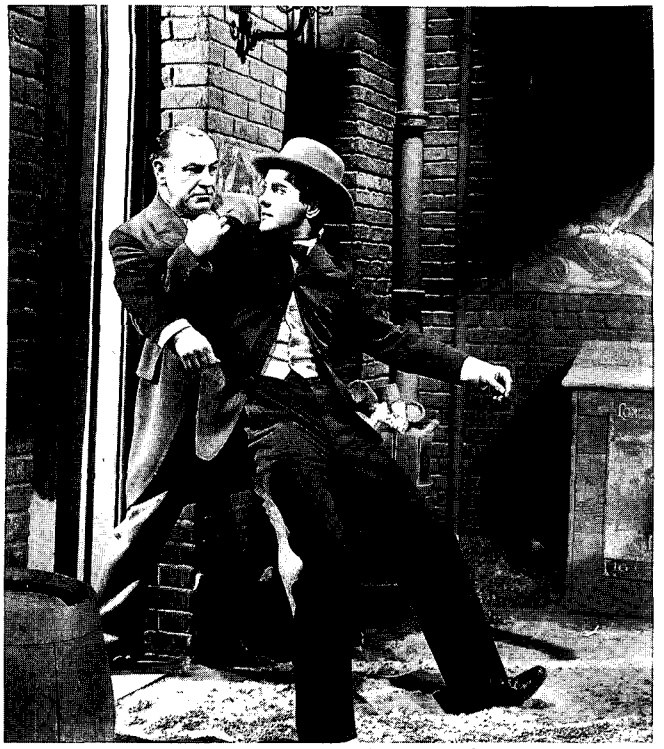
Both the term-limit and tax-limitation initiatives brought the Reagan coalition together. Perot signature gatherers from 1992, libertarians, social conservatives, Republican Party regulars and antistatist populists—bitter antagonists in the 1992 election—worked together on the 1994 and 1996 initiatives. The *New York Times* had a tough sell in 1996 trying to convince these comrades in populist arms that they were natural enemies. They knew each other and were not about to let the establishment define their friends and enemies.

The anti-crime and victims rights initiatives brought a whole new group of activists into the conservative–Republican orbit. In 1992, five states passed constitutional amendments giving victims the right to be heard at sentencing, probation, parole, and plea-bargaining sessions. And in the fall of 1993, Washington state overwhelmingly passed the three-time loser law that mandates life imprisonment for third convictions for violent felonies. I enjoyed listening to Democratic governors complaining that twice-convicted felons were fleeing from the 10 states that followed Washington's lead.

It was then-Congressman Denny Smith who showed the value of the crime issue and the power of the initiative process. In 1988, Mr. Smith ran the initiative campaign in Oregon that required that those convicted for a second violent felony serve the full sentence, no time off for good behavior, no parole or probation. Denny Smith lost his marginal congressional seat in 1990, but the statewide network of activists he built in that winning campaign—the crime initiative won 74 percent of the vote—helped build a victorious coalition in the governor's race in 1994.

You all will remember the campaign seminar that Haley Barbour and the Republican National Committee ran in 1994 trying to explain to would-be senators and governors that running an anti-crime initiative or a victims-rights initiative would be a good opportunity to travel throughout the state, raise money, identify popular issues, and contact local activists. Mr. Barbour thought that seminar a failure, but of the only 25 attendees, you will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Photofest

The Republican party was ahead of the curve on term limits and flexible in meeting the challenge term limits pose to elected officials.

note that seven are now governors or were just elected to the Senate.

We should have held a similar seminar for training would-be politicians on how best to ally with the term-limit and tax initiatives. But it might not have been necessary, as I count 15 members of the House elected in 1994 or yesterday who built their political bases during statewide initiative campaigns on these issues.

Parental Rights

Colorado also took the lead in the series of initiatives that ruled out group privileges for homosexuals. As you remember, in 1992 Colorado passed an initiative that simply forbade adding homosexuals to the protected classes under present civil rights law. Oregon voters rejected an initiative that would have gone further and required that the state take an active anti-homosexual position in public debate. It was not surprising that the seven states in 1994 that followed the Colorado model were successful, while the two states that tried to pass Oregon-style initiatives were unsuccessful in even getting onto the ballot.

While the gay rights/privileges initiatives received hysterical cover stories in *Time* and *Newsweek*, the initiative that brought social conservative Republican voters to the polls and convinced a lot of parents that Bill Clinton's party was not theirs was the "Parental Rights Amendment." The PRA read simply, "The rights of parents to direct the upbringing and education of their children shall not be infringed." Parents simply could not understand why Bill Clinton, the Democratic Party, and the liberal groups were so opposed to this common sense.

Five states passed the amendment as an initiative in 1994. Thirty-seven states debated it in the legislature and seven put it on the ballot for 1996 ratification. Jeff Bell, the unsuccessful candidate for Senate in New Jersey in 1978 and author of *Populism and Elitism*, pointed out that pro-family groups in America finally shed their pessimism and sense of inevitable failure with the passage of these amendments:

> This was a transformation, from containment and retreat to rollback, that economic and foreign policy conservatives made in the 1980s. Whittaker Chambers stated that he thought he was joining the losing side when he abandoned the Communist Party in the 1930s. Many economic conservatives believed that they were at best engaged in a holding action in a world-wide drift toward Socialism. But in the 1980s the tax-cutting campaign of Reagan and the Reagan doctrine internationally showed that the state could be pushed back in the economy and that the Soviet empire could be defeated in first, Grenada, then Afghanistan, and eventually Eastern Europe and Moscow itself.

Bell calls the parental rights amendment "our Grenada," and adds, "We finally convinced ourselves that we could reclaim control over our families from the government encroachments of the past three decades."

Divide and Conquer

Whole books can—and will—be written about the 1993 school-choice initiative in California and the five efforts in 1994 that have added to our recent victories.

Voters in 23 states have had the power of initiative and referendum since the Progressive movement succeeded in winning these rights for most of the states west of the Mississippi. It is odd that before the 1990s, neither party systematically used initiatives to put issues before the American people. In 1994 and 1996 the use of initiatives on the crime, taxes, term limits, anti-quota and pro-school choice issues provided five major advantages for the Republican Party and the conservative movement.

First, the initiative process demands a great number of signatures and therefore a great number of volunteer activists. The key issues of crime, taxes, term limits, and school choice brought hundreds of thousands of anti-statist activists together to work with national networks of organizations. Their contributions and activism swelled the size of the traditional conservative movement that is a crucial element in any Republican electoral campaign.

Second, initiatives must be nonpartisan and independent of any one candidate. Perot supporters and cynical voters who would not trust a party or politician can read an initiative and know exactly what they are voting for. One Florida initiative activist—now a congressman—said that she only worked and voted for initiatives because, unlike politicians, they could not change their minds once you voted for them.

Third, the best of our Senate, House, and gubernatorial candidates saw this cresting wave of populism early and got out in front to organize initiatives. They were seen by the electorate as, first and foremost, community leaders; later, when they ran for office, they had credibility on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax or crime issues that was denied others. Candidates in large states had a reason to visit every corner of their state while campaigning for an initiative, whereas ordinarily, a congressman venturing outside his or her district would be seen as campaigning for himself.

Fourth, the sheer number of initiatives and the depth of their combined agenda scattered the Left's attempts to defend its turf. The 14 campaigns for term limits in 1992 forced the statists to play defense in 14 states at once—and lose in every one. Likewise, the multiple initiatives in 1994 and 1996 forced the Left to divert the Hollywood money needed for candidates to fight against seven anti-gay privileges initiatives; tied up teachers unions fighting choice; forced public employee unions to fight a dozen anti-tax initiatives; and left Democratic candidates screaming for attention at the federal and state level. Ironically, this divide-and-conquer strategy was first enunciated by Ralph Nader, the lobbyist for tort lawyers, who for his own reasons supported term limits. In 1992, term-limit supporters who were concerned that they might have trouble with their Ohio initiative were assured by Nader, "Don't worry, we have a very strong [read crazy] environmental initiative in Ohio and the entire business establishment that might otherwise be dragooned by the politicians into funding the anti-term limit effort is tapped out in stopping our green initiative."

Learning from the success of the scattershot initiative efforts of the term-limit and tax-limitation groups, the nascent property-rights groups are promising to put 12 initiatives on the ballot in 1998 to put real teeth in the "takings" clause that would stop the seizure and over-regulation of private property. They know they were defeated in their 1996 effort in Colorado only because the environmental groups were able to muster national resources against one state effort—just like Tom Foley's first success against term limits when it appeared alone on the ballot in Washington state.

Fifth, the real Republican platform for president and congressional races was not written at the Chicago convention. I cannot even remember what went into the formal platform. The initiative battles and the Republican efforts in non-initiative states and in Congress on crime, taxes, school choice, parental rights, and opposition to quotas defined the party and its candidates. This was a truly bottom-up campaign, with more than 3 million Americans signing initiative petitions to place their goals on the ballot. The populist initiatives poured energy, activists, and ideas into Republican candidates and eventually into the party.

The Dog That Didn't Bark

As important as these developments were, some have argued that the most important event of the past four years for the health of the Republican Party was what did not happen—the dog that didn't bark.

Despite the active encouragement of the *Washington Post* and the Establishment Left, the much-touted battle royal between the social conservatives and economic conservatives never happened. The Republican Party's enemies kept demanding ringside seats to this promised civil war, even after the Coverdell and Hutchison Senate races in Georgia and Texas in 1992 and 1993 demonstrated that

Photofest

The key issues of crime and taxes, term limits, and school choice brought anti-statist activists together, swelling the size of the conservative movement.

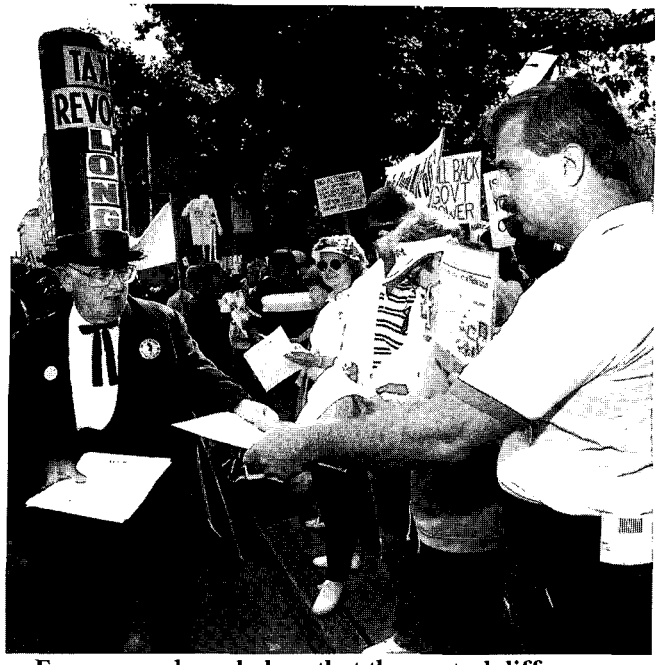
the issues of the 1990s—taxes, crime, school choice, and opposition to Bill Clinton's endless parade of bizarre ideas—united the party.

It didn't hurt that groups like the million-member Christian Coalition decided four years ago to move into the economic arena. In fact, one must remember that the Christian Coalition was one of the most effective groups opposing the 1993 tax hike and was central to deep-sixing Hillary Clinton's tax increase of 1994.

Success in elections and initiatives brought the social and traditional economic conservatives closer together. Strong party leadership that rewarded the decisions of losing primary candidates to support the party nominee was coupled with the public disciplining of Bobbie Kilberg, who refused to put the party above her personal ambition after she lost the nomination for lieutenant governor of Virginia at the 1993 state convention.

Everyone acknowledges that the central difference between 1996 and 1992 was that the Republican Party recaptured the tax issue. That was simple enough at the presidential level. George Bush's political suicide instructed all Republicans who aimed for the presidency; Bill Clinton's annual efforts to raise taxes re-established traditional party positions at the top. But Senator Dole deserves a great deal of credit for keeping Republican senators from casting any pro-tax votes for four years. The Taxpayer Protection Pledge made by 121 Republican House members and 21 Republican senators in 1992 was extended to every state legislative race, more than two-thirds of all Republican candidates running coast-to-coast took the pledge in 1996. A quick count finds that 80 percent of Republican victors took the pledge. Making the pledge a party position made it easy for voters to vote

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



New Jersey Newsphotos

Everyone acknowledges that the central difference between 1996 and 1992 was that the Republican Party recaptured the tax issue.

"no" on taxes by pulling the Republican lever. It made unified party advertising possible for federal, state, and local candidates in the same ad.

After taxes, the crime issue claimed the most Democratic victims. Jon Kyl of Arizona wrote that the crime issue replaced the defense issue in the Republican arsenal. This worked because the Democrats' reaction to crime and criminals was the same weak reaction they had to America's enemies in the former Soviet empire and international terrorist groups. Just as the Democrats flinched at building and using a strong national defense, so too did they oppose strengthening our defenses against domestic enemies by building prisons and executing murderers. And the crime issue allowed Republicans to reach out to black voters who were victimized by crime while Democrat politicians focused on the needs and feelings of the criminals. Jesse Jackson was wrong. Opposition to strong, swift, and certain penalties for crime was not a vote-winner in the black districts.

Let Our Children Go!

The power of choice in education as an issue can best be understood in the words of Vice President-elect Bret Schundler: "Choice in education empowers parents and—for the black community in America—it is as important and powerful and life-changing as the civil rights movement of the 1960s." Black voters traditionally had been Republicans before the Kennedy–Nixon election of 1960. The Democratic Party's embrace of civil rights and the Republican Party's reluctance to add to federal power switched black voters over *en masse.* Mr. Schundler argues that the black vote is undergoing a swing back to the Republican Party over the education choice issue. He saw this first-hand when he served as mayor of Jersey City.

The National Education Association is twisting Democratic politicians' arms so that even forward-looking Democrats, who know what their anti-choice policies are doing to children, are unable to speak out. The Polish Embassy had to issue a clarification *last* year when Lech Walesa toured New York and Chicago, explaining that Polish children already had choice and American children should be as free. Russian President Boris Yeltsin's scheduled speech in Los Angeles the next month, about how choice works in Russia, was cancelled because of White House pressure, but radio commentator G. Gordon Liddy managed to get a copy of it and read it over "Radio Free America" the day Clinton vetoed that modest choice bill.

Critical holes were punched in the defense laid out by the NEA when dozens of small foundations followed the lead of Pat Rooney, the CEO of Golden Rule Insurance Company, which gave out scholarships of up to $800 to students from low-income families to attend private schools. Golden Rule pays up to half the cost of tuition at a private school, religious or secular. As early as 1995, we had similar foundations up and running in 15 cities. Choice made national network news when a New York businessman offered 1,000 choice vouchers to the city's poorest students, and more than 50,000 parents stood in line overnight to get applications.

But John Norquist, the mayor of Milwaukee, put a whole new twist on the choice issue when he signed a labor-union contract with Public Employee Union Local 61—a group of 330 sanitation workers—giving them vouchers worth $200 for every child to attend private schools. Other mayors followed suit, and fist-fights between representatives of teachers unions and pro-school choice union leaders who wanted vouchers for their members made the news in Cincinnati and Los Angeles. But the real donnybrook broke out when mayors began offering the choice educational voucher to unionized school teachers. Then teachers with children in private schools wanted in and the union leadership said "no" to this benefit: a first in labor history.

The Welfare Shell Game

Governor Carroll Campbell of South Carolina correctly saw that Bill Clinton might make a run back to the political center using the welfare-reform issue. If I had to point to a close call, it would be this one. Republicans in the House at first focused "within the nine dots" and got swallowed up in the minutiae and the fine print of welfare reform. It was Carroll Campbell, as the head of the National Governors Association, who devised the strategy of having Republican governors flood Washington with demands for waivers to allow each state to implement

George Bush's political suicide instructed all Republicans who aimed for the presidency.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cost-saving reforms. Wave after wave of press conferences were held around the nation highlighting how many days these waivers had been "held hostage" in Clinton's Department of Health and Human Services. My favorite was when the College Republicans kept one student outside the HHS building every day with a sandwich board that advertised a running total of taxpayer dollars wasted by these delays.

And in Washington, it was Representative Jan Meyers's four principles that boxed President Clinton outside the welfare-reform jackpot. Mrs. Meyers simply stipulated that any welfare reform must meet four simple tests: It must cost the American taxpayers less—not more—starting day one; it must stop welfare payments to illegal aliens; no welfare benefits for girls under 19; and no welfare benefits unless paternity had been established and the father held responsible for the support of his child. No longer would teenage girls be able to establish households on the taxpayer's dime. These principles struck the American people as fair and reasonable, but they checkmated President Clinton's goal of simply relabeling welfare as "job training" and increasing its size and its scope. With real welfare reform defined as outside his political abilities, the president's refusal to support Governor Campbell's initiatives became "one more Clinton lie."

Winning Voters

Exit polls report that yesterday Republicans pulled in 20 percent to 25 percent of the black vote for the presidency and Congress. Even the establishment press has figured out that the Republican message of opposition to taxes and crime, and calls for welfare reform and choice in education, were winners in the black community.

But we always have known that the conservative message should be a winner with black voters. Thomas Sowell, I believe, has it right in today's *Washington Times* when he credits Republican successes to a determination to speak directly to black voters. In the past, Republicans pathetically had asked black leaders for support, and feared being called "racist" by these same so-called leaders. When they went directly to the black voter, they did not need to back off such winning issues as crime, requiring welfare recipients to work, and lower taxes. Just as Walter Mondale in 1984 abused the "compassion" issue to the point that voters understood it meant higher taxes on the middle class and more welfare for the non-working, so too has Jesse Jackson overused the race-baiting card. When George Bush was accused of racist behavior, he flinched. A younger generation of Republican leaders knows that Jesse Jackson and other liberal Democrats use "racism" the way Joe McCarthy is said to have used "communist," as not the last refuge of a scoundrel, but as an opening bid to demand an undeserved moral high ground.

David Lucas, the leader of the national property-rights movement, is claiming credit for three western Senate victories, and he may be right. We should have seen the property-rights movement's potential way back in 1992 when Mr. Lucas began organizing the 500 state and local groups: more property-rights groups existed in 1992 than there were taxpayer groups in 1978–1980! And, while taxpayers organize to stop a bigger slice of their income from being taken, the property-rights movement is made up of families who have lost, or are about to lose, their land, their homes, and their farms.

Just as Walter Mondale in 1984 abused the "compassion" issue, so too has Jesse Jackson overused the race-baiting card.

The National Federation of Independent Businesses is arguing that the votes of its 2 million members were key. One of its most important contributions was its highlighting Cost of Government Day (COGD) over the past three years. COGD, the day when taxpayers have paid the total costs of government spending *and* regulation, has moved forward two weeks from July 13 to July 27 under the Clinton administration. (Even though Bill Clinton has a point when he says he is being pilloried for regulations for the Clean Air Act and the Americans With Disabilities Act, passed during the Bush administration but only now really beginning to bite.)

And just as the Democrats had to redefine the 1980s as the prelude to winning in 1992, Arthur Schlesinger is correct that conservatives have worked hard to reclaim recent history. Of course, a steady supply of revelations from the KGB and Cuban DGI files didn't help the Left; I am glad that Alger Hiss lived long enough to hear Moscow refresh his memory about how he spent the 1930s and 1940s. The private endowment of the Museum of the Victims of Communism is near completion, standing a few blocks from its sister memorial, the Holocaust Museum. This museum will remind generations to come of the truth of the Soviet empire. I am sorry that Congress voted to disallow a room dedicated to "collaborators and spies," but we did get a great roll call vote on the issue.

I do think we should invite Ross Perot to sit in the VIP section for the inauguration. He contributed a great deal to the Republican victory by reminding us in 1992 that a Republican cannot run without speaking the two truths that America knows: that official Washington is corrupt and that the Washington establishment spends too much money. George Bush left both unsaid and invited defections that cost him the presidency.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peacekeeping Is Hell

America Unlearns the Lessons of Vietnam

John F. Hillen III

On February 26, 1991, when I was one of the very first American ground troops to encounter Iraqi Republican Guard tanks, I was glad that there was an "American way of war." At about 4 P.M. that day, my Bradley fighting vehicle and some 20 other Bradleys and tanks crested a slight rise and came face to face with the enemy's elite. In the ensuing battle, now known as the Battle of the 73 Easting, we were fortunate to have only one soldier killed and several wounded as we destroyed an enemy battalion.

We were able to keep our casualties to a minimum because our nation had asked us to fight in a manner which favored us. General Colin Powell told us to "cut [the enemy] off and kill it." We knew what that meant, and we did the job. We took full advantage of our aggressive doctrine, our military proficiency, and our overwhelming technological superiority as we completely overpowered the enemy.

Hard Lessons of Limited Wars

Unfortunately, this emphasis on decisively achieving clear objectives is being ignored by the Clinton administration. The president is committing U.S. troops to United Nations peacekeeping missions in the Balkans and Somalia in which their great skills are handicapped and in which the objectives are uncertain. UN commanders usually have little experience using troops for decisive combat, and UN peacekeeping missions typically operate under self-imposed limits which endanger the force and limit its effectiveness. By submitting to United Nations command, the United States can expect extended, dangerous, and expensive operations that will steadily produce casualties and rarely produce results.

Like the Korea stalemate before it, the Vietnam War revealed the tragic limitations of a strategy of limited war with no definitive objectives. President Lyndon Johnson and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara sought to apply force in carefully measured packets as a "signaling device." The United States applied military pressure incrementally, and mostly in punitive response to initiatives by the enemy. Restricting both its objectives and its means, the United States decided not to stage a decisive operation, air or ground, against North Vietnam.

The emphasis on controlling the application of force, as former Department of Defense official Stephen Rosen pointed out, "quickly produced a tendency to choose plans that were controllable over plans that would be militarily successful." A conscious decision was made to fight a war of attrition as opposed to a war of annihilation. The result was a costly and largely wasted effort that left a heavy burden on the professional military.

In analyzing their Vietnam failures, the services decided that they should never again deprive themselves of the early effect of overwhelming force. They insisted that they should be given objectives that were distinct and readily apparent, and could lead to a decisive and conclusive political goal. They demanded that they be allowed to fight within parameters that would allow them to keep the initiative and set the terms of battle to their advantage. Most of all, they maintained that they should not be forced to operate under self-imposed limits that so severely handicapped their effectiveness as to cede every advantage to the enemy.

The American Way to Fight

The Gulf War dramatically vindicated these principles. President Bush set a goal that was clearly defined, decisive, and militarily attainable: defeat and expel the Iraqi forces from in and around Kuwait. There was no attempt to coordinate limited force with diplomatic initiatives designed to bring Saddam Hussein to the bargaining table. Once the use of force was initiated, it was used to gain an overwhelming advantage, one so overpowering that it allowed us to sustain the lightest casualty rate in the history of warfare. The architects of Desert Storm had no desire for protracted war. The campaign was to be quick, decisive, and conducted solidly on terms that suited the coalition forces.

Inconclusive conflicts in Korea and Vietnam, and success in Desert Storm, left the professional military confident that it had found a winning formula for the use of force. Political goals and the military means to achieve

John F. Hillen III, *a former U.S. cavalry officer, was awarded the Bronze Star for his actions in combat against the Iraqi Republican Guard in Operation Desert Storm. He is currently a doctoral candidate in international relations at Oxford.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UPI/Bettmann

Like the Korea stalemate before it, the Vietnam war revealed the tragic limitations of a strategy of limited war with no definitive objectives.

them must be solidly matched and clearly defined. United States forces should seek to use their overwhelming advantage in battle training to isolate and defeat enemy forces for a definitive victory. All this should be accomplished quickly and decisively so as to avoid protracted deployments and keep American casualties low.

That the military should be used to engage and defeat an enemy in order to obtain a significant political objective may seem absurdly self-evident. The Clinton administration, however, now seems tempted to throw the military at many foreign policy problems where it has no use other than as a signal. This is especially true in the administration's eagerness to participate in United Nations collective security missions, where handicapped military forces are ineffective.

The Peacekeeping Explosion

The end of the Cold War has led to a surge in UN collective security missions. There are now almost 90,000 "blue helmet" troops in UN operations, up from fewer than 10,000 in 1987. Three operations—the Balkans, Cambodia, and Somalia—involve over 20,000 UN personnel each, whereas the average operation in the past numbered no more than a few thousand at best. The cost of these operations has multiplied from $700 million two years ago to a projected budget of over $3.6 billion by the end of this year. U.S. taxpayers foot almost 32 percent of the UN Security Council bill.

Beyond the growth in size has been the increase in complexity. During its first 40 years, the UN initiated 13 peacekeeping missions, all with modest ambitions. Unarmed or lightly armed UN peacekeepers were put into place with the approval of the belligerents after a cease-fire agreement had been signed. Their duty was usually to monitor an agreed-upon buffer zone or troop withdrawal which followed the cessation of hostilities.

Today's UN operations aim not only to force peace on the belligerents, but to rebuild whole nations. For soldiers, it is a recipe for failure.

UN peacekeepers have not been particularly effective at achieving even these modest objectives. In response to rocket attacks on its territory, we have just seen Israel invade Lebanon once again, and its path cut through over 5,000 UN peacekeepers, some of whom have been in the region since 1978. In Cyprus, UN forces have been de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ployed between Greek and Turkish populations for almost 30 years without securing a lasting peace settlement between the two sides. After participating in the Cyprus

By submitting to UN command, the U.S. can expect extended, dangerous, and expensive operations that will steadily produce casualties and rarely produce results.

force for over 28 years, Canada recently decided to withdraw its troops because there was no end in sight to the commitment.

Today the UN is embarking on missions that are much more complex, many with political factions not recognized as states. In some cases, as in Somalia, the belligerents are not only still fighting, but openly oppose the UN presence. Today's UN operations aim not only to force peace on the belligerents, but to rebuild whole nations. Refugee resettlement, civil administration, election setup and monitoring, civil defense, the rebuilding of national infrastructure are all to be accomplished in the middle of a civil war. And all of these goals are supposed to be achieved with rules of engagement that still limit the soldier to self-defense. For soldiers, it is a recipe for failure.

Objective and Offensive

The Clinton administration has determined that the U.S. military will participate in UN collective security missions. The armed services, and especially the land forces, are currently wrestling with how peacekeeping fits into their occupational specialty—war. The two professions are not necessarily based on the same principles.

Today's Army doctrine emphasizes "a warfighting focus" based on "winning by using overwhelming combat power." It is based on long-standing principles of war, of which the first two are arguably the most important: *Objective* and *Offensive*. The principle of objective states that every military operation must be directed toward a "clearly defined, decisive, and attainable objective." The principle of offensive maintains that even in a temporary defensive posture, the military commander must always seek to "seize, retain, and exploit the initiative."

Now for the first time, Army doctrine includes a section on peacekeeping in a chapter entitled "Operations other than war." The doctrine suggests that the military commander would never wish to abandon objective and initiative in a peacekeeping operation. Among military professionals, however, there is considerable internal consternation about how this can be achieved.

From the vantage point of military professionals, peacekeeping operations rarely contain an appropriate objective, or allow their forces to take and keep the initiative. This is certainly true in UN operations, where objectives must be based on consensus from the many parties and belligerents. It is a rare UN operation that launches a quick and decisive strike. The initiative lies with the belligerents and not the peacekeepers, who are forced to react to events in an effort to appear neutral and impartial.

Moreover, peacekeeping is closer to police doctrine than military doctrine. A police force does not expect to eliminate crime altogether, but instead seeks to hold crime to an acceptable level. So, too, a peacekeeping force seeks to enforce an acceptable level of compliance by belligerents to agreed-on rules. This is a war of attrition, not decisive victory through overwhelming force. It is complete anathema to the American military, evoking memories of Vietnam.

Troops as a Tripwire

The success of UN peacekeeping missions depends entirely on voluntary cooperation from the belligerents. Over 800 UN peacekeepers have died in the line of duty when this voluntary cooperation has broken down. This number is rising rapidly. In Cambodia and the Balkans, the UN has deployed over 40,000 troops in multi-faction civil wars, and yet armed them with rules of engagement that cripple their effectiveness and largely limit them to the use of force in self-defense only.

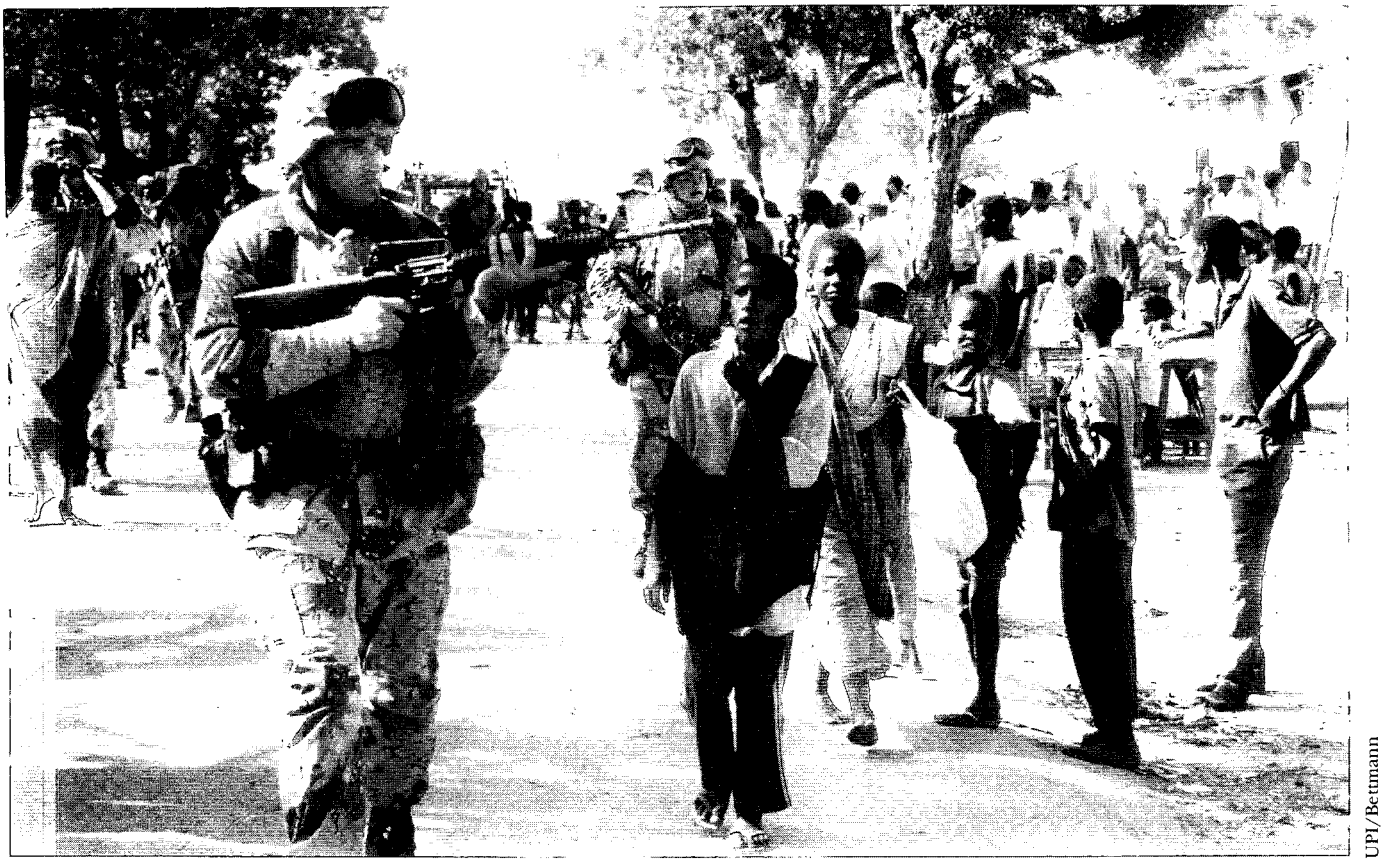
The United States has already discovered some of the limitations of collective security in its Somalia operation,

The UN contingent in Macedonia is too small to defeat—and therefore too small to deter—a Serbian invasion. Hope is not a method in military operations.

now that it is under United Nations command. The Americans have been frustrated that the Italian troops in the UN operation have opposed the U.S. objective of trying to defeat warlord Mohammed Aidid. But this should come as no surprise: Italy's emphasis on negotiations rather than military confrontation, on extended mediation and a subtle definition of success, is really in keeping with traditional UN peacekeeping operations. Consequently, the Italians view the U.S. forces as cowboys, and we view the Italians as dickering do-nothings.

The United States may soon encounter a different sort of danger in Macedonia, where 300 highly trained U.S. combat troops could face a Beirut-like attack. If any faction in Macedonia wishes to win international atten-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



UPI/Bettmann

From the vantage point of military professionals, peacekeeping operations rarely contain an appropriate objective, or allow their forces to take and keep the initiative.

tion for its cause, it would do well to attack American forces in the UN operations there, as opposed to the Danes or Swedes. Such an attack would leave the United States only three unpalatable options: withdraw in disgrace (Lebanon), reinforce and expand (Vietnam initially), or struggle on with handicapped forces incapable of winning (Vietnam later).

The deployment to Macedonia is a typical example of using troops for symbolic reasons—without thinking through their military objectives. The Danish commander of the UN operation has stated that deployment of the American contingent is a signal to the Serbs: they had better not invade Macedonia or they will incur the wrath of the country. As his only mandate is to signal the will of the international community, however, he cannot employ the troops in accordance with the military necessities of the operation. The UN contingent is too small to defeat—and therefore too small to deter—a Serbian invasion. A similar bluff was called in Lebanon, at the cost of 250 American Marines. Hope is not a method in military operations.

Military symbolism is not limited to the use of ground forces. A European leader recently called for carefully measured American air strikes in Bosnia, to "encourage the Bosnian Muslims to believe that the West will protect a deal they will accept." There was no discussion of what military objective these air strikes might achieve. Somehow they were supposed to demonstrate the will of the international community, but not necessarily achieve anything of military importance. This brings back memories of the much-criticized "Rolling Thunder" air campaign of Vietnam.

Don't Emasculate U.S. Forces

The will of the international community is still somewhat ethereal and shifting. United Nations collective security operations are weakened by committee decisions, and UN forces are still hostage to the lack of authoritative action. The fate of UN operations and of the soldiers involved is still chiefly in the hands of the Khmer Rouges, Serbian partisans, and Somali warlords of the world. United States forces involved will suffer an emasculation that they have never experienced before.

American service members cannot realistically expect that all their military engagements will be conducted on as favorable terms as the Gulf War. But if U.S. service members are involved in a UN operation, we must insist that they be used intelligently. Before the lives of American troops are put in jeopardy, political leaders should make sure they have defined attainable military objectives that are consistent with the training and doctrine of American forces. To deny our forces these advantages is not only a danger to their lives, but an affront to those who have fallen already. ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America's Wild Kingdom

A Nigerian Immigrant Is Shocked by His U.S. High School

Jide Nzelibe

I looked on with bemusement as an attractive female passed a note to a young man in the first row. Some trite vulgarities were exchanged, my more restive classmates started singing, and the teacher was all but completely ignored.

Welcome to the civics course at Northwestern High School in Hyattsville, Maryland, a lower-middle to middle-class suburb of Washington, D.C. Though the above scene is a commonplace to American students, as a recent immigrant raised in a poor but industrious village in Nigeria, I was more than a little shocked.

Codes of Conduct

My initial impressions of Northwestern were a jumble of mixed messages: mini-billboards and placards constantly advertised the dangers of unsafe sex and drug abuse. Everywhere I looked—on walls, chalkboards, and in the restrooms—there were institutional invocations to the lowest common denominators of achievement. The school's public address system constantly eulogized students who made it through the month or week without any absences, or those who were only marginally competent in their studies.

By contrast, Nigeria's public school system—which I attended through grammar school and most of high school—closely mirrors its parent British system in its emphasis on merit-based results and rigid codes of conduct. Students take examinations on different subjects before they proceed to any grade level, and there are separate testing requirements for graduation from any school level and entrance into another.

Most of Nigeria's public high schools have boarding facilities, and I attended a boarding school in the east. As in many American boarding schools, the Nigerian schools administer strict guidelines governing clothing requirements, tardiness, obedience to authority, reading habits, and appropriate behavior.

Students who come in after the first bell for class, for example, face corporal punishment or some form of detention. Most of the time the detained students are assigned such menial tasks as cutting the school lawn (by hand, with long blades), or washing and scrubbing the classrooms or cleaning the latrine (which had no plumbing). Consequently, being tardy or absent from class was the exception.

Students are obliged to perform various chores—from cleaning the dorm to fetching water for the school cooks—irrespective of their class levels or backgrounds. Since the plumbing in my high school was hardly ever in operation, students had to fetch water in buckets from local neighborhoods or streams.

A Place Where Grades Matter

The academic discipline in Nigerian schools simply mirrors the boarding-school environment. At the end of each term of the Nigerian academic year, students are issued report cards that evaluate their performance in various subject areas as well as their class ranking. Grades really matter: Students who do not rank favorably are admonished strongly by both family members and their peers, and those who rank well are rewarded with praise. This helps foster friendly competition. In life outside the classroom, students often try to best each other by reciting lines of verse from Shakespeare or one of Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka's poems or short stories.

Academic programs are rigorous. For example, as a "third former" in the Nigerian system—equivalent to the ninth grade—I placed into an advanced mathematics track for the next grade level. This enabled me to start working on statistics and calculus in my forth form (10th grade). The atmosphere in this class, and other classes, was demanding. Grades never were inflated and sometimes a C was a welcome grade even for a very good student. The level of instruction in the classroom was relatively high and formal; usually the teacher would lecture and students would take notes quietly and ask questions later.

Contrast this with U.S. schools: in some of my advanced grade-level classes at Northwestern, teachers constantly used audio-visual aids and other teaching devices. Often, the classroom atmosphere appeared more reha-

Jide Nzelibe, *a 1988 graduate of Northwestern High School with honors, received a B.A. from St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, and now is attending the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bilitative than educational, as teachers tried to impart rudimentary social skills and values to their students. Grades of A and B were the norm and not the exception. Thus, there was very little incentive to perform for students who knew that a relatively mediocre output would bring home good results.

Promise Amid Problems

Admittedly, Nigeria's boarding-school environment has its deficiencies. Most of these involve issues of bureaucratic inefficiency, administrative corruption, and constant hazing by upper-class students. Many of the Nigerian schools also are underfunded and overcrowded.

In my last two years in Nigeria, my school was facing chronic shortages in supplies and services. Breakfast was usually a loaf of bread the size of a hot-dog roll and an egg—when they were available—and dinner consisted of yam porridge or some other starch meal. We usually went to bed hungry. The situation was much worse for the underclassmen, who were served last and could not defend themselves against famished upperclassmen. Food brawls were common.

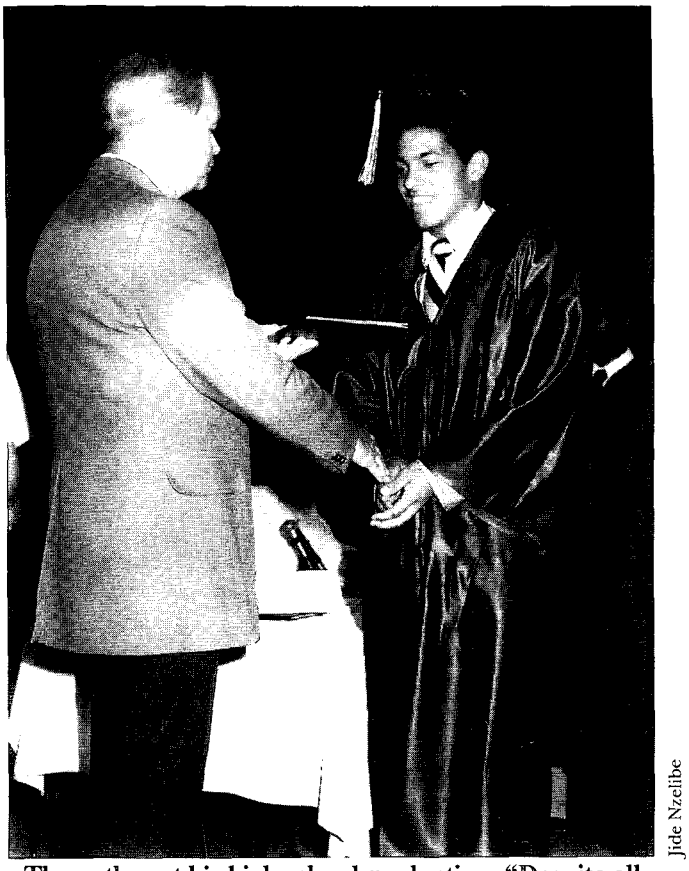
Nevertheless, in this austere and often inhospitable environment, there were several shining examples of academic promise. Obinna Tagbo was one of my classmates and closest friends at school. He looked like a street brawler, but he was an unforgettable science whiz who spontaneously could calculate square roots of complex numbers. The last time I heard from him, he was preparing to go to one of Nigeria's exclusive and rigorous medical schools. Many of our peers competed successfully to secure places in Nigeria's highly selective hard-science programs.

Focus on Families

Indeed, despite all the shortcomings of the Nigerian system, I think I received a better education there than I did at Northwestern. This would have not been possible without the cultural pressures shaping Nigerian youth.

My Nigerian experience makes one fact inescapable: The decline in American public schools is tied directly to the decline of the American family.

Generally, throughout a Nigerian student's academic life, he is subject to various social pressures from relatives, peers, and others to work hard and succeed. The belief that, without a good education, one's prospects in life are fairly limited, prevails in the minds of most parents, regardless of their social backgrounds. Many strive against seemingly impossible social and economic odds to send their children to school.



Jide Nzelibe

The author at his high-school graduation. "Despite all the shortcomings of the Nigerian system, I think I received a better education there than I did in the Washington suburbs."

My friends and I had to walk—barefoot, usually—two to three miles to get to school. My elementary school did not provide textbooks, and there were no libraries, no electricity, no running water, and hardly any leisure facilities. Nevertheless, many of the poor peasant farmers would scrape up whatever they could to provide books and uniforms for their children. The institutions and the government hardly provided any other amenity except teachers. Despite all this, the desire to learn was not compromised.

One of the social highlights of my hometown was the annual PTA children's concert, a small extravaganza of art exhibitions, mini-theater competitions, biblical and poetry recitations, and academic quizzes. Proud parents from all backgrounds waited patiently to see their children outperform their peers. Community leaders awarded prizes to the best students and personally congratulated parents.

These concerts are a little window into the communitarian spirit so central to Nigerian life—and so firmly rooted in the family. The family unit in most of Nigeria's ethnic groups is usually the extended family. Thus, there exists a whole range of individuals who feature in a Nigerian child's social development. Extended families from one village often interact informally with families from other villages, sharing concerns over child-rearing and family welfare. For example, any child who commits

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

In Nigeria, with all its political and social problems, the family remains strong, and by doing so helps define the social and economic expectations of the nation.

an indiscretion in another village can rest assured that someone in his family is going to hear about it.

A Short Leash

Most Nigerian families subscribe to the unspoken philosophy that liberty as an end in itself is undesirable—unless it is accompanied by a strong spirit of responsibility. Therefore, children in Nigeria generally are kept on a short leash through their adolescent years. The importance of responsibility for others often is taught from an early age. The family structure also helps promote strong regard for those in authority. Consequently, by the time most children make the transition into adulthood, they already have been acculturated to norms governing respect for one's elders, authority figures, and superiors.

Many social critics in the United States point to inadequate funding, poor faculty and facilities, and the socioeconomic conditions of urban areas as reasons for the decline in the American public school system; however, compared with my Nigerian experience, Northwestern High School had a much more educated faculty and better-equipped facilities. At Northwestern, there were free lunch programs for economically disadvantaged students, free bus rides to and from school for the neighborhood students, and free academic texts for classroom instruction. All the students had to do was to show up—often in expensive clothing and cars—and perform.

Sadly, many of them did not. Although they were much better off than any of my Nigerian peers, their social expectations were fairly low and they had little respect for authority. These students were relatively sophisticated about all the various status symbols of a consumer culture, but they were hardly sophisticated in their academic aspirations.

In one of my history classes, for example, the teacher admonished a student for disrupting the class. In response, the student casually tossed some expletives at the teacher and continued to misbehave. I watched disbelievingly as the teacher literally implored the student to go see a counsellor. Such an indiscretion never would have been tolerated—or even heard of—in a Nigerian school.

Jennifer (not her real name) was a particularly bright young woman who was in two of my classes. She was one of the first acquaintances I made at Northwestern and I cherished her friendship greatly. I admired her not only because she was one of the top students in the class, she also was one of the few level-headed people I knew at the school. At an informal school social outing in the middle of the year, she offered me drugs hidden in her purse. The last time I saw Jennifer was two years ago. She had a small baby and she was living at home with her mother. Did she have any future plans? She had vaguely defined intentions of going to junior college, but she was not sure she could afford the time or money.

Vulgar and obscene talk, gym periods and lunch breaks as open sessions for aggressive sexual conduct,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pregnant teenagers in at least two of my classes, a new single mother in another—none of these stories surprise an American ear. But for the Nigerian, they are nothing short of scandalous.

The Key to Achievement

After all has been said about poor funding, institutional biases, and cultural differences, my Nigerian experience makes one fact inescapable: the decline in America's public schools is tied directly to the decline of the American family. There is a very important aspect of academic achievement that transcends government policy or economic circumstance, and that is the moral and social aptitude of the citizenry. At Northwestern High School most of the teachers appeared eager to help with my homework and career plans, the library in the school was well stocked and accessible, and there were plenty of sporting facilities. What I found lacking was an atmosphere among students—reinforced by family—that was congenial to academic excellence and social growth.

Don't misunderstand me. I love America. The freedom, tolerance, and respect of differences that are a part of everyday public life are some of the first things a visitor to America notices. But I also saw a public school system disconnected from society's most important institution—the family. In Nigeria, with all its political and social problems, the family remains strong, and by doing so

Many Nigerians strive against seemingly impossible social and economic odds to send their children to school.

helps define the social and economic expectations of the nation.

Can the hopes and dreams of Americans afford to be any less lofty and noble than those of Nigerians?

Who Should Care About Estate and Gift Taxes? We All Should.

Co-published as Fiscal Issues 8 by the Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation (IRET) and The Center for the Study of Taxation.

"Professor Wagner has brilliantly shown that if we want higher standards of living we'd better pay attention to the effects of transfer taxes on capital information — that translates into the simple proposition that those who want more golden eggs had better pay greater attention to the health of the goose."

••• *Walter E. Williams*
John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of Economics, George Mason University

Federal Transfer Taxation: A Study in Social Cost

by Richard E. Wagner

George Mason University professor Dr. Richard E. Wagner, a leading authority in the fields of public finance and law and economics, documents in this landmark study how transfer taxes, often mistakenly viewed as a tax only on the wealthy, sap the vitality and stunt the growth of our entire economy.

$4.95 + $1.50 for postage. Call 202.347.9570 for more information. Order by sending a check for $6.45 payable to IRET to 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 515, Washington, D.C. 20004-1774.

IRET Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation.

The Center for the Study of Taxation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Explosive Book Reveals Truth About "Slick Willie" Clinton

And you can get it FREE!

(Fairfax, VA) Despite Bill Clinton's election as President, and the "extensive" media coverage of the campaign and his early days in office, there are still many questions left unanswered.

Questions like:

- What's the real story behind Clinton's draft dodging? And did powerful people pull strings for him?
- Did the Clinton campaign actively try to circulate disinformation to discredit investigators? How successful were they?
- How many image changes has Clinton been through?
- Was Clinton a peaceful war protestor, or a tool of the Soviet Union and the KGB?
- Is Bill Clinton a drug user—or not?
- Tough on crime? Or liberal bleeding heart?
- Did Clinton use the Governorship of Arkansas to enrich himself and his wife Hillary? Might he do it as President?
- Just how liberal is Hillary Rodham Clinton? And how much control does she have over United States policy?
- What is the real Gennifer Flowers story? Did she have an affair with Clinton? Is there any evidence? Does it have any bearing on Clinton's performance as President?

The answers to these questions and many more are chronicled in this extensively researched and thoroughly documented new book, *"Slick Willie:" Why America Cannot Trust Bill Clinton.*

Written by Floyd G. Brown, *"Slick Willie"* does the investigation that Americans expected from the major media—but never got.

"Slick Willie" is filled with exclusive information unavailable anywhere else. Information that the liberal media, and Clinton's handlers, covered up during the campaign.

Thousands of copies of this best-seller have been sold nationally for $7.95. But under the terms of this introductory program for new subscribers, you can get it absolutely free.

You see, Floyd Brown, the author of *"Slick Willie,"* is also the Editor of a new, information-packed newsletter called *ClintonWatch.*

Every month *ClintonWatch* brings readers new, hidden facts and information about Bill Clinton and his administration. The kind of facts and information that you'll never see in your daily newspaper or on television.

Now, many Americans believe that Clinton was less than perfectly honest in his campaign for President.

And a less-than-honest man as President is, quite literally, a prescription for disaster.

America's "free press" is supposed to protect us from the kind of abuse that Clinton is capable of.

But with the American media fawning over Bill and Hillary, and applauding each new policy initiative, there is precious little objective reporting available.

That's why *ClintonWatch* is so important.

Every month the editors of *ClintonWatch* dig out the truth—no matter how deeply buried—about Clinton and his Administration. And they bring you that truth. No holds barred. No stone left unturned.

Look, let's face it, no matter how haughty their motto—be it "All the news that's fit to print," or "World News Tonight," or "The nation's news," the major media are just not telling the whole truth about this President.

If you want that whole truth, there is only one place for you to go—*ClintonWatch.*

And Editor Floyd Brown is so convinced that *ClintonWatch* will give you the kind of information you want, that he has authorized a special deal, just for new subscribers. Here it is:

Use the coupon below (or call the toll-free number with your VISA or MasterCard between 8:30AM and 7:00PM, EDT) and subscribe to *ClintonWatch* at the Special Introductory Price of only $29 (25% off the regular subscription price of $39) for a full, twelve month subscription. You'll receive your own copy of *"Slick Willie:" Why American Cannot Trust Bill Clinton*, absolutely free as their way of saying "Thank you."

And, of course, your subscription is fully guaranteed.

If for any reason you find it necessary to cancel your subscription, just drop them a note. They will immediately refund the cost of any unmailed issues—and *"Slick Willie"* is yours to keep with their compliments.

That's it, a great deal on a great newsletter—GUARANTEED.

Use the coupon below—or call the toll-free number (1-800-362-4788)—to subscribe today.

☐ Please enter my subscription to *ClintonWatch* and send me my free copy of *"Slick Willie:" Why America Cannot Trust Bill Clinton* when you receive my payment.

☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill Me

Or speed up your subscription: use your VISA or MasterCard and call toll-free **1-800-362-4788** from 8:30AM to 7:00PM, Mon.-Fri..

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Send Coupon to:

ClintonWatch
11094-D Lee Highway
Suite 200
Fairfax, VA 22030

PR-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Your Honey or Your Life

The Case for the Bachelor Army

Allan Carlson

A year ago July, the now-forgotten Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces held a regional hearing in Evanston, Illinois. The commission staff brought me in as a witness to provide "the Midwestern Perspective" on the questions at hand. I was paired with a female cultural anthropologist from the University of Wisconsin, who marshalled the arguments in favor of placing women in combat. Turning to historical precedents, she cited but one: an 18th-century tribe in West Africa, whose king boasted a force of Amazons, fierce women warriors, forbidden to marry or bear children, who won many battles.

My response was conventional. A single, obscure exception to the vast human rule regarding gender and war, I said, proved nothing. But on reflection, I decided that the anthropologist from Wisconsin had unwittingly hit on a deeper truth: The most effective standing military force is always bachelor—or bachelorette—in composition.

History on Mundy's Side

This incident came to mind when Marine Corps Commandant Carl Mundy announced on August 5 that the Corps would phase out its acceptance of married recruits, with a total ban as of September 30, 1995. At the same time, he ordered counseling programs to be reoriented to discourage marriage after enlistment. But General Mundy had not consulted Secretary of Defense Les Aspin on this policy shift, and Secretary Aspin, with President Bill Clinton's backing, immediately rescinded the order. Wrapping himself in an unaccustomed pro-family mantle, Mr. Aspin insisted that any policy shifts prejudicial to marriage and family first be submitted to him for review.

Largely unreported, however, was the fact that the weight of American history and military tradition was firmly on General Mundy's side. A "bachelor" military force was the American rule from 1776 to 1940—and, arguably, to 1947. Military regulations uniformly forbade the peacetime enlistment of married men, and discouraged marriage thereafter. Through most of this period, the Army and Navy formally ignored the wives and children of officers and senior non-commissioned officers (NCOs) that did exist. While customary arrangements smoothed the edges of this policy, dependents were the burden of the individual involved. In time of total war, of course, married men were swept into the conflict, from the Civil War in the 1860s through the Second World War of the 1940s. Nonetheless, the guiding assumption was that "the married state" was incompatible with long-term military service. During periods of peace, married troopers belonged in the part-time state militias, which could more readily accommodate the demands of family life.

Cold War Distortions

It was not Pearl Harbor that brought this tradition to an end. Indeed, military planners in 1945 looked to a fairly complete demobilization after the war, and a return to a relatively small, primarily bachelor standing force. It was the emergence of the Cold War in 1947–1948, and the turn to a kind of permanent mobilization to meet the communist threat, which fundamentally altered the situation. Instead of a regular force of several hundred thousand, which could in practice avoid family problems, the services swelled to several million and the "dependency" question grew rapidly.

In 1960, the military services passed a milestone, as dependent wives and children outnumbered uniformed personnel in the active force for the first time. Ten years later, military sociologist Charles Moskos speculated that while "the pre-World War II military might be seen as a total institution encapsulating bachelors ... the post-Vietnam military may well encapsulate the family along with the serviceman husband-father." The next two decades witnessed the forced integration of women into the military, and the emergence for the first time of a large number of service couples, with both husbands and wives on active duty. By 1993, the military services faced a host of ticklish sexual and child care issues, while the Defense Department's budget—with appropriations ranging from day care operations to adoption expenses—bore a peculiar resemblance to that of the Department of Health and Human Services.

It was Boris Yeltsin, I believe, who remarked that the fall of communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union now allowed Russia to become again "a normal nation."

Allan Carlson *is president of the Rockford Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In a different way, the same may be true for the United States. The distortions of American life and traditions caused by the Cold War need to be examined and, in many cases, reversed. Among these distortions may be counted "the familial Army and Navy." The proper response, I suggest, is a return to a bachelor military force.

Child Care and Combat Readiness

What accounts for the historic military preference given to bachelors? The American tradition rests on two sources, the more ancient of which is practical. The recurring military problem has been to reconcile the military's need for a soldier's full obedience, immediate availability, frequent movement, and extended service with a man's natural desire to settle down and procreate. Over the ages, the preferred solution has been to defer the problem by relying on bachelor forces of relatively young and unencumbered men, excepting senior officers. In ancient Rome, military leaders pointedly labelled women and children *impedimenta*, and the Roman Senate labored long—and finally without success—to preserve a bachelor legion. The shelter, feeding, and care of "camp followers" would bedevil generals throughout the intervening millennia.

The problem is more than logistical. The ideal bachelor soldier carries no deep psychological burden, no primary worry for spouse and offspring, and no fear of infidelities during long absences. He feels less need to "get home," and is more likely to absorb the spirit of the unit in which he serves. Married soldiers, sailors, and airmen, in contrast, have divided loyalties, and face special emotional and psychological struggles that often affect their performance.

Indeed, as researchers began to study the "Cold War" military family in the 1960s, they found disturbing results. Ruth Lindquist's early investigation of a Strategic Air Command (SAC) wing reported a range of negative consequences deriving from the regular separation of Air Force families. Later work has focused on the negative effects of child care problems on combat readiness.

HHS in Camouflage

General Mundy's short-lived directive, "Fostering Responsible Marriage Choices for First Term Marines," neatly summarized these problems. Noting that 40 percent of Marines serving their first enlistment were married, he continued:

> The problems associated with a failing marriage, a marriage whose fabric is being torn by our operational/deployment tempo, or the difficulties of making ends meet on a junior military salary in locations where the cost of living is especially high, can be overwhelming to a young Marine. Eventually, the weight of family-related problems can disrupt the individual's concentration, result in decreased performance, and require command attention.

Informal reports from unit commanders suggested that they were devoting ever-larger portions of their duty time (over 50 percent in some cases) to resolving the marital problems of enlisted personnel. The very effectiveness of the Corps, in an era of declining numbers, seemed to be at issue.

Moreover, the direct costs of a familial military force should be a pressing contemporary concern for a debt-ridden federal government. In 1940, dependent-related expenses were trivial portions of the War and Navy Departments budgets. By 1972, however, dependency costs had swelled. Analyst Steven Canby, writing that year, calculated that nearly 14 percent of the military's compensation package was "disproportionately associated with dependency," including contingent and in-kind benefits. Using this number alone, dependent costs were over $4 billion, out of a total Defense Department budget of $75 billion. The latter sum contained other depend-

The problem has been to reconcile the military's need for a soldier's full obedience, immediate availability, and extended service with a man's natural desire to settle down and procreate.

ent-related costs as well, including the maintenance of over 300 elementary and high schools and 6,800 civilian teachers, serving 165,000 pupils.

Today, expenses in both relative and absolute terms are greater still, but just as difficult to pin down. Queries of Defense Department personnel about the budgetary costs of military dependents draw only blank responses. "Nobody has ever asked that question before," several told me. But portions of the price tag can be isolated. In 1993, approximately 60 percent of the active duty military were married or with dependents. The number of military dependents was over 1.2 million.

The most rapidly growing cost associated with dependents is in health care. In 1942, wives and children first became eligible for health care from Army and Navy providers, on a space-available basis. By 1993, the military's medical work load—both direct care and through the Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS) reimbursement program—was heavily weighted toward dependents, with about 62 percent of the military health bill going toward dependent care: for FY1993, that's $9.67 billion. It is also noteworthy that active duty dependents are apparently three times more likely to be occupying hospital bed space than are active duty personnel.

A comprehensive list of expected dependent-driven military expenses for FY1994 include: health care ($9.67 billion), family housing construction ($3.63 billion), dependent overseas schools ($852 million), dependent transportation ($221 million), family separation allow-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ances ($96 million) and adoption expenses ($3 million).

Other family-driven expenses include significant portions of total housing allowances ($5.92 billion), of permanent change-of-station costs ($3.18 billion), of military construction costs (a total of $5.9 billion, including funds "to improve living ... conditions"), of separation travel benefits ($314 million in 1993), and "Section 6" schools on domestic posts. The total price tag probably exceeds $20 billion, and could climb up to $25 billion, or about 10 percent of all precious 1994 defense dollars.

Civic Sloth

The second source of America's historic preference for a bachelor force was political, even ideological. The American founders looked with abhorrence at the prospect of a large, peacetime military force. A "standing army," they believed, was linked to civic sloth on the part of citizens, would inevitably result in the abuse of executive power, and represented a constant temptation to use the various military forces for what we would now call "social engineering."

The source of this attitude lay in the Radical Whig tradition of 17th-century England, which translated the lessons of royal and parliamentary abuses of power into a fully articulated anti-militarist ideology. For these friends of liberty, the phrase, "standing army" conjured up images of Rome's imperial legions, of Ottoman Janissaries, and of Oliver Cromwell's "New Model Army." The peacetime professional army threatened not only political structures, but private property, moral values, religious observance, and social traditions as well. As England's Samuel Johnson wrote, "a Standing Army was always a name of dread and horror to an English ear, and signified the worst sort of Invasion, being intestine, and already got within us." Philosopher David Hume labelled a standing army "a moral distemper in the British government, of which at last, it must inevitably perish."

American Revolutionary thought placed this dread of a "standing army" at its core. A Boston clergyman, speaking in the 1770s, defined the phrase as "a number of men paid by the public, to devote themselves wholly to the military profession; while the body of the people followed their peaceable employment, without paying any attention to the art of war." Such a structure (which sounds perilously close to the American military force, circa 1993) filled the American patriots with horror. As Samuel Adams wrote to a correspondent in 1766: "I always look[e]d upon a Standing Army especially in time of peace not only [as] a Disturbance but in every respect dangerous to civil Community."

A prominent New Hampshire editor spoke for the incipient American republic in 1770, declaring: "Standing armies have ever proved destructive to the Liberties of a People, and where they are suffered, neither Life nor Property are secure." The Boston Massacre of March 1770 loudly reinforced this prejudice against a professional force. Indeed, the indictment against King George III in the Declaration of Independence focused heavily on his wayward militarism: "He has kept among us ... standing armies"; "He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power," and "quartering large bodies of troops among us."

AP/Wide World Photos

A married serviceman has divided loyalties and faces special emotional and psychological problems, which may affect his perfomance.

Militias vs. Standing Armies

Instead of a professional army, the American patriots waxed enthusiastic for a strong militia system: farmers, craftsmen, and landowners, with families at home, armed, trained, organized, and holding a stake in society, men whom would never overturn legitimate republican government. While the Colonial militias had deteriorated in many ways by the late 18th century, they grew enshrined in American minds, less as a true "system" than as a theoretical concept of defense. As one Patriot wrote in 1776: "The militia is the natural support of a government, founded on the authority of the people only." John Hancock added: "From a well regulated militia we have nothing to fear," while from a standing army, "what has not a state to fear?" Speaking to European audiences in the 1780s, John Adams repeatedly cited "The Towns, Militia, Schools, and Churches" as the four causes of "the Growth and Defense" of New England and as the source of "the Virtues and Talents of the People."

The actual experience of the Revolutionary War left many Continental Army veterans—including George Washington—less than sure about the efficacy of state militias. Nonetheless, when the Framers faced the Constitutional problem in 1787, the solution was reliance on a small federal army backed by a "well regulated" militia, subject to joint state and federal controls. No less a Federalist than Alexander Hamilton devoted *Federalist Paper #8* to the argument that the proposed Constitution was the surest guarantee against "standing armies" rising among the disunited states. In *#29*, he argued that while "standing armies are dangerous to liberty," a "well regu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lated militia" was the surest guarantor of security and freedom: "What shadow of danger can there be from men who are daily mingling with the rest of their countrymen and who participate with them in the same feelings, sentiments, habits, and interest?"

As the republic matured over the next 150 years, the same sentiments persevered. Mercy Otis Warren, in her *The American Revolution*, wrote: "Whenever an army is established, it introduces a revolution in manners, corrupts the morals, propagates every species of vice, and degrades the human character." In a December 1914 speech on defense policy, and with Europe already ablaze, President Woodrow Wilson still declared: "We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms." As late as October 1945, another president—former Missouri National Guard Captain Harry Truman—repeated the same refrain: "I recommend ... that we depend for our security upon comparatively small professional armed forces, reinforced by a well-trained and effectively organized citizen reserve. The background of our military force should be the trained citizen who is first and foremost civilian, and who becomes a soldier or a sailor only in time of danger—and only when the Congress considers it necessary."

In short, to the degree that there is a uniquely American military tradition, the professional standing army stands alien to republican governance, to family life, and to social order. In the American mind, only a citizen force of armed civilians in "well regulated militias" could preserve both political and social peace.

Patriots Wrong, or Paranoid?

But perhaps the American patriots and their heirs were wrong, or slightly paranoid? Or perhaps their fears and warnings are irrelevant to the real dangers of the late 20th century? Do the "military dependents" of a "standing army" really pose a problem?

A review of the efforts since 1947 to integrate spouses and children into the Cold War military force offers answers. It occurred in two phases: the first, from 1947 to about 1970, when the armed forces came to embody a spirited traditional familism; and the second, from the early 1970s to the present, when the military shifted to the "diverse lifestyle" model of family living.

During the first phase, the military services strove to socialize wives and children into a modified military model, turning them into a special support system. For officers' wives, this essentially involved translating the unwritten customs devised for a regular army of only 25,000 men [circa 1897] into written materials for the mass education of wives of a standing force numbering into the millions. The military etiquette books pouring forth after 1945 did the job. Reflecting the spirit of the Cold War, Helen Todd Westpheling's *Army Lady Today* emphasized that just as wives "esteem, respect, and dignify the estate and sanctity of marriage," so too they extended these sentiments "to the integrity and justice of the boundless frontier of democracy our country represents." Nancy Shea's *The Army Wife* and *The Navy Wife* became the "unofficial Bibles" commonly presented by active duty officers to their new brides. Ms. Shea argued that a wife's full-time support of her officer-husband was "an important part in our national security, and a duty to our country." Wives must build "a congenial, happy home life" that soothed soldiers and sailors on the return from their duties. Army and Navy wives must commonly carry "the responsibility of being both mother and father" to the children. Such books also explained the elaborate social customs expected of an officer's wife, ranging from formal afternoon teas to the volunteer work performed through the Officer's Wives Clubs found on every post.

The socialization of the families of enlisted men occurred in more direct fashion. The services crafted a series of in-kind benefits and special allowances, originally designed as wartime measures to help each soldier or sailor "according to his needs." During the uneasy peace of the Cold War, these grew into a comprehensive welfare system. Adapting theory to practice, military planners soon argued that family entitlements usefully insulated personnel from the outside world, created a sense of security, fostered morale, and encouraged a unique sense of solidarity. As noted earlier, dependents first became eligible for special medical benefits in 1942. Post Exchange stores and Commissaries, enjoying several hidden subsidies, offered goods at discounted prices. Full health benefits came through the Dependents Medical Care Act of 1956. On-base housing construction mushroomed in the 1950s, while the Army opened a series of daycare centers on domestic and foreign posts "to enhance the morale of servicemen and their families." Umbrella "family service" programs sprouted in the early 1960s, followed by the Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS) in 1966.

The Family Army

This shift in military compensation toward in-kind family benefits discriminated against, and so discouraged, bachelor soldiers, while increasing the military's attractiveness for men with large families. Military housing, for example, was allotted by a combination of rank and family size and composition, with the largest families drawing the more spacious dwellings. Travel allowances were linked to marriage and the number of children, while health systems covered the direct costs of pregnancy and childbirth, at a time when these were still out-of-pocket expenses for most civilians.

A bachelor military force was the rule from 1776 to 1940.

After 1970, the imperatives of an All-Volunteer Force further accelerated this shift. General Mundy's ill-fated August 5 directive again put a finger on the problem: "Some of the initiatives pursued during the 1970s to attract individuals to military service were the expansion of family entitlements (BAQ, BAS, Dependent Travel, *etc.*) to all service members, regardless of grade.... Corre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

The Framers of the Constitution relied on a small federal army backed by a "well regulated" militia.

spondingly, the number of young Marines who have chosen to marry since that time has increased dramatically." Incentives matter, the economists tell us, and the components in the military's compensation package had clearly shifted in favor of marriage.

At the same time, the flow of women into the regular forces stimulated a second military social revolution. Stirred, at first, by fears of a "manpower crunch" in the 1970s and unwilling to call up the National Guard and Reserves for service in the increasingly unpopular Vietnam campaign, military planners turned to the recruitment of women. The American feminist movement, enjoying revival in the late 1960s, quickly converted this pragmatic idea to ideological ends. Early on, feminist theorists targeted the existing military family system for a kind of subversion. Some noted that military wives could, in fact, be latent feminists. As sociologist Edna Hunter explained, the Cold War military wife was expected to serve both her husband's and the military's needs, a system requiring "an independent, self-sustaining, liberated woman." In her article "The Wife: From Military Dependent to Feminist?" Lynne Dobrofsky explained that "the very mechanisms of social control which the military has successfully employed regarding the military wife (guilt, responsibility for husband's career, *etc.*) are those which feminism promises to threaten the most." Others believed that with more women soon to join the ranks, and with the prospect of numerous married military couples, the existing "traditionalist" order could not hold. The Cold War family system of the 1950s and 1960s, they concluded, bore the seeds of its own destruction.

Indeed, change came quickly. In 1972, Congress approved the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution by overwhelming margins, and pundits predicted quick ratification by the states. Reasoning that existing policies regarding the enlistment and assignment of women might soon be unconstitutional, Pentagon planners resolved to make a managed adjustment to the new egalitarian realities. At the same time, the turn to the All-Volunteer Force concept elevated women into a valuable recruiting pool.

As part of this turn to professionalism, military advertising turned feminist theory into recruiting slogans. Basic training companies were gender-integrated. In 1975, Congress opened the service academies at West Point, Annapolis, and Colorado Springs to women. The following year, unusually traditional young men were thrown together with very nontraditional young women in a dramatic challenge to the eliteness, maleness, and culture of the primal military institutions. When monitoring sociologists discovered that male cadets in the first gender-integrated class at the Air Force Academy grew, over time, more hostile to women in the military and more traditional in gender-role attitudes, the Air Force simply accelerated the social engineering effort; it introduced additional "high status" women as trainers and integrated cadet housing.

By 1980, the U.S. had 171,400 women on active military duty, the largest figure—both in absolute and relative terms—in the world. Equal Opportunity Officers, assigned to all military units, monitored relations between military men and women and insured a steady egalitarian advance. While the Reagan Administration slowed down the process to a degree, the rate of change reaccelerated under George Bush and Bill Clinton. A new and unprecedented kind of military force was taking shape.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Family Forms

What were the family consequences of these changes? To begin with, the "traditional family," reinforced by military policy and custom during the 1947–1970 period, began to disappear. By 1980, the Air Force reported that only 19 percent of personnel were in traditional families, composed of an Air Force father, non-working civilian wife and mother, and one or more children. Even excluding the unmarried, families so defined accounted for only 28 percent of all Air Force families, a decline since 1960 of about 40 percent. Officers Wives Clubs, those symbols of traditional gender roles, withered everywhere. Military personnel experts speculated that the greatest strains within the Army's organization were now "those developing in the homes of military personnel between husbands and wives."

Second, "new family forms" such as dual-career couples and single parent families became a majority in the services. Among the new female ranks, pregnancy in and out of wedlock grew common. In 1980, 16 percent of all women in the U.S. Army were pregnant. The military divorce rate, significantly lower than the civilian rate in the 1960s, soared after 1970. Growing levels of daily male–female interaction led to a burgeoning growth in "service couples," which encompassed 100,000 service members in 1993 (6 percent of the total active duty force). Where military families had been behind the curve of change in the 1960s, they leaped to the fore after 1975, becoming models of a new order.

Third, the new All-Volunteer Force, with its pluralistic families experienced ever greater social problems, needing ever greater benefits. While the services went to great lengths to stress that they were not "surrogate parents," the surging numbers of service couples, dual career couples, and single parents made child management a pressing military issue. Military sociologist Edna Hunter concluded that "the provision of child care for military families may be essential today for mission readiness," and she endorsed an Air Force program providing 24-hour child care availability to base commanders in case of alert. The Army Family Action Plan of 1987 described "the availability of quality child developmental care" as being "a crucial program for the Army." The next year, the services operated 581 child care centers on 412 installations, with a direct subsidy of $80 million. The Army Family Action Plan for 1988 stressed the need for sensitivity training of unit leaders in soldier–family relations, in child care problems, and in the needs of military infants. As one official Army statement explained: "We want soldiers, of all ranks, feeling they belong to a 'family'.... Building the 'family' requires a professional sensitivity toward and caring for one another." Unit leadership, the Adjutant General of the Army explained, must shift from a hierarchical, obedience mode to a familial, cooperative one.

Social Unease

Indeed, by the early 1980s, a sense of deep social unease haunted the services. There was mounting evidence that family conflicts and responsibilities impaired the combat readiness of many units. At the same time, there was ferment within the ranks. Informally organized family symposia in the 1979–1982 period saw thousands of persons complaining about new stress and unmet needs arising from the tension between their family lives and their work. Formal Army action came through a 1983 "White Paper," *The Army Family*, where Chief of Staff John A. Wickham Jr., laid out the new Army Family Philosophy of seeking "Army families of excellence" and focusing on "wellness" and "prevention and family strengths." The Family Action Plan, issued in 1984—"The Year of the Army Family"—offered dozens of concrete measures merging individual families into "The Total Army Family." Parallel developments occurred in the Navy and Air Force. The Pentagon also constructed pan-service bureaus, such as the Military Family Resource Center and The Office of Family Policy Support and Services, to bring some order to the situation.

At a deeper level, however, we may actually see here evidence of the social and political distortions caused by a standing army, about which the patriots of 1776 incessantly fretted. An egalitarian ideology alien to the American Constitution, in league with the ancient practical problems of fitting wives and children into a warrior force, have produced disturbing results. An extraordinary 1978 paper by Harvard University's M. D. Feld, appearing in the journal *Armed Forces and Society*, put a finger on the problem. The American armed forces, long accustomed to serving as an instrument of politics, had taken on a new role since World War II. The nation-state, argued Professor Feld, had become less of a power-laden patriotic symbol, and more of "a conglomerate of interest groups," to be guided by technocratic leaders "into committed social tasks." In this effort, the armed forces now served as vehicles for socially engineered domestic change. As Professor Feld wrote:

To the degree that there is a uniquely American military tradition, the professional standing army stands alien to republican governance, to family life, and to social order.

> One consequence of the contemporary fusion of the notions of national security and national welfare has been the sensible eradication of the conceptual distinction between the nation-in-arms and the nation at peace. The notion of total mobilization as the archetypal war-time measure ... is being replaced by the model of the permanently mobilized state: a state mobilized not for reasons of war but in order to allocate its resources in the fullest and most rational manner possible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Elite, homogeneous military units—like the Gurkhas or the Highlanders—were romantic relics. Even in America, Professor. Feld concluded, mobilized citizen soldiers were being replaced by "standing armies of professional soldiers," who were in fact becoming servants of the permanently mobilized, ideologically egalitarian state.

The 1993 quarrel over homosexuals in the military, while temporarily decided in favor of tradition, still reinforces this image of the modern military force, with its dependents in tow, as a social engineering tool "up for grabs." Ideology, not war-making ability, may be emerging as the American military's current driving force. Indeed, America's "New Model Army" does bear an odd resemblance to aspects of the one crafted by Oliver Cromwell and the one used by Suleiman the Magnificent to reshape the societies over which they once had sway. The patriots of 1776 may not have been so wrong, after all.

"Small" and "Big" Wars

But what would a modern "bachelor" military force look like? Certainly, it would need to take account of probable geopolitical needs in the post-Cold War decades, and prescribe both a force structure and personnel policies compatible with them. In this regard, an excellent guide is Eliot Cohen's 1985 book, *Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service.*

Mr. Cohen shows that "small wars" and "big wars" require substantially different force and personnel arrangements, with disaster almost guaranteed when a "big war" oriented military force attempts to fight a "small war" (which is what he believes happened to the American cause in Vietnam), or vice versa. Small wars, he says, are the chronic problem of great powers: rebellions, insurrections, and border forays along the lines of empire or "national interest." Such wars, today as much as a century ago, remain "light infantry" conflicts. Imperial Great Britain, he reports, reorganized its military force around the "small war" problem in 1869, with considerable success. At the core of the British army stood 250,000 volunteer, largely bachelor, professional soldiers, organized by regional regiments, and serving extended tours. This British Army relied on the "continuous offensive" to overwhelm its enemies, and made great physical demands on its members. Each regiment operated as "a military tribe, united by traditions, rituals, and mannerisms," and used locally raised levies (*e.g.*, the Gurkhas) for support. Mr. Cohen adds that the American Army of the Indian Wars (1865–1896) and the Philippine Insurrection (1899–1902) had the same characteristics. The latter campaign, in particular, showed how a limited but elite force of hardy volunteers, using small-unit autonomy, quick strikes, civic action, and indigenous support forces could win a fierce guerilla jungle war. It was, says Mr. Cohen, "the last war waged by the old Indian-fighting army," and it was a stunning—even if now largely forgotten—military success.

Ideology, not war-making ability, may be emerging as the military's current driving force.

However, large modern wars involving total mobilization cannot be fought by elite, professional forces. Other structures are needed. The U.S. Army, during the two World Wars and from 1947 to 1972, used an Expansible Service System, with the professional, regular Army and Navy designed to train and lead a much larger conscripted force. The main drawback of this approach proved to be time: In World War II, for example, it took the United States three years to create a fully capable ground army this way. A second alternative, the Cadre/Conscript system, rests on Universal Military Training, where regular duty officers and NCOs train conscripts for one to three years, after which the latter serve as Reservists. The German Imperial Army and Soviet Army, 1945 to 1989, were fairly pure examples of this type. The third alternative is an organized militia, requiring only brief periods of active service and drawing its strength—officer and NCO as well as enlisted—from a large, well-organized force of citizen-soldiers. Such as system has performed admirably in this century. The best example remains the Swiss militia, the reputation and strength of which kept its nation out of both World Wars I and II. Even Adolf Hitler abandoned a planned invasion of that small land, after his generals estimated that a full 21 German divisions would be necessary. Today, the Swiss can mobilize a modern army of 625,000 on two days' notice, a mere 3,500 of whom are professional officers and NCOs. The Finnish Militia Army of the Winter War and World War II, organized on a provincial basis, also performed well against a vastly larger Soviet force. In both lands, regional homogeneity, small-unit solidarity, and civilian skills have been treated as assets to be used, rather than as problems to be overcome.

Over the next several decades, America can expect both its share of small wars and the chance of another "big war." In charting a rational response, I suggest that the ideas of the preeminent 20th-century advocate of a truly "American" force structure—Lt. Colonel John McAuley Palmer—be given fresh attention. At a congressional hearing in October 1919, Colonel Palmer—a highly-regarded infantry commander and staff officer under General John Pershing—stunned his senior colleagues by denouncing a War Department proposal to construct the postwar Army on "professional" principles. Such an idea, Colonel Palmer intoned, was "not in harmony with the genius of American institutions."

A son of Illinois, but a philosophic disciple of Thomas Jefferson, Colonel Palmer argued that Congress should restore a militia-based system of war. As he wrote: "If American citizen armies, extemporized after the outbreak of war, could do as well as Washington's Continentals and as well as the citizen armies of Grant and Lee, what might they not do if organized and trained in time of peace?" Instead of the German-styled Cadre/Conscript force desired by the War Department, Colonel Palmer urged reliance on a small, non-expandable, elite, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

implicitly bachelor regular army, to be used for small conflicts and as an expeditionary force. A vastly larger "war army" would be a citizen force, men in families, resting on a reorganized National Guard. Colonel Palmer dismissed as mindless prejudice the contempt of his fellow West Pointers for this heir to the state militias. Provided that state-organized National Guards were "well regulated" through uniform federal standards, and properly supported and equipped, there was no reason that they could not provide a force at least as good as that of the Swiss, albeit much larger. While he suggested that such a militia force could be built out of volunteers, the logic of his argument ran toward the Swiss model of universal, but time-limited male combat training.

The New Bachelor Army

Adapting these strategic and philosophical considerations to the late 20th century, a modern American bachelor force would embrace several changes:

(1) A standing "expeditionary force," 250,000 to 300,000 strong, rich in discipline and *esprit d'corps*, should be formed. It would be organized as a light infantry force backed by integrated air, artillery, and armor formations, with special skills ranging from amphibious and airborne landings to civic action. Whether constructed out of the Army, the Marines, or both, this professional force would fight America's "small wars" of the future. It would be the place where young men eager for adventure and travel, or itching to fight, find fulfillment. Terms of enlistment would be expanded to six or seven years. The enlistment of married men would be prohibited, and subsequent marriage discouraged by replacing in-kind dependent benefits with hard cash. Officers and NCOs who married would be expected to take care of their own.

(2) The Navy, a tradition-bound service badly buffeted of late by ideological cant, would introduce personnel policies identical to those outlined above. The active duty Navy, would, in consequence, be an elite, professional, and largely bachelor force. Similar arrangement could serve the active-duty Air Force as well.

(3) A "war army," backed by appropriate air units, would be constructed as a citizen force of armed civilians, using Palmer's model. Full-time professional officers and NCOs would number 40,000 to 50,000, with the mission of coordinating and serving the citizen force. The General Staff of this force would embrace both professional and civilian soldiers. America's armed citizenry, again accustomed "to the art of war," would be organized through state National Guards and specialized ready Reserve units. At age 21, all male citizens (except for the physically and mentally impaired, and for those volunteering elsewhere) would serve six years in the active militia, starting with 18 to 22 weeks of basic combat and specialist training, standardized and coordinated by Federal authorities. As in Switzerland, every effort would be made to translate civilian skills and training into its military equivalent. Militia pay would be frugal. Militiamen would be free to marry at any time, although most probably would wait until after their initial training. Annual drill of three weeks and monthly weekend assemblies would insure basic unit readiness.

AP/Wide World Photos

Care and support of dependents could climb to $25 billion, or 10 percent of all 1994 defense dollars.

The primary mission of this armed militia would be to defend the United States against invasion, and—if necessary—to fight the next "big war" that we enter. Using this method, a capable ground army numbering well into the millions could be fielded in a matter of months, rather than years. Politicians contemplating massive foreign campaigns would have to be willing to send their sons and grandsons—not to mention themselves, in some cases—to man the guns, which should result in an admirable degree of caution.

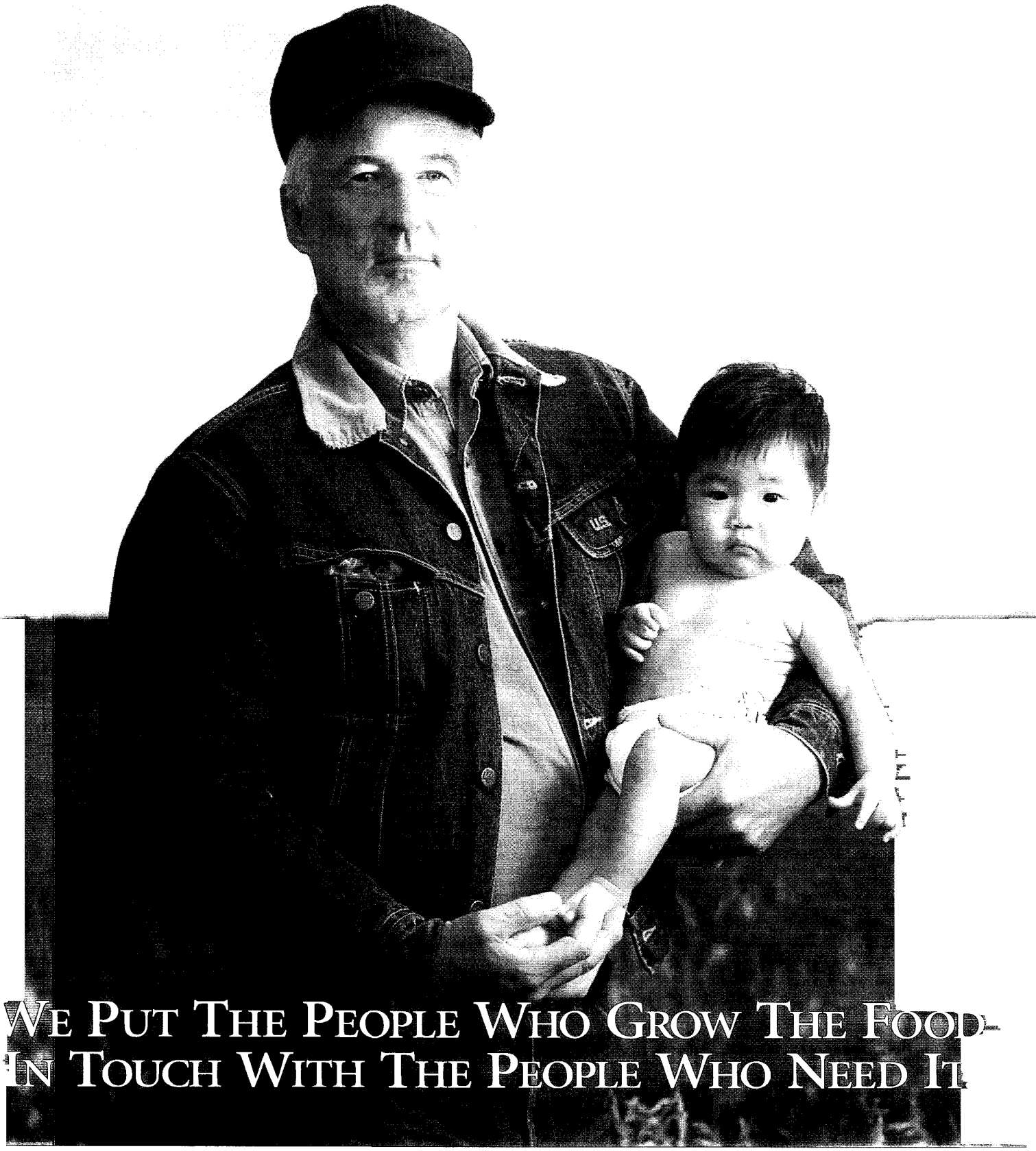
Under this scheme, the cost of dependents would steadily diminish. Remaining peacetime personnel expenditures could, over time, be cut roughly in half, with a much larger and more versatile defense structure remaining.

Bachelor forces, it is true, bear their own unique problems, symbolized by the rowdy "strips" outside every military post, composed of tattoo and massage parlors, bars, and car lots. However, these exist even today, under a relatively "familial" military order. The force structure described above, reliant primarily on short-term citizen soldiers, would probably reduce the overall physical scope of the problem.

My real nagging doubt is over the principle of universal militia training. The ideal militia curriculum, of course, would combine the skills cherished by the National Rifle Association with the spirit of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. Yet Franklin D. Roosevelt, too, was an advocate of a type of universal military training, coyly hinting that it should involve "something more" than combat skills.

Bill and Hillary Clinton, no doubt, would agree. Nevertheless, I would be willing to take the risk. The picture of Washington's current crop of armchair warriors and armchair pacifists slogging through a swamp together as members of, say, The Reorganized Virginia Militia, is too sweet to pass up. ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



We Put The People Who Grow The Food In Touch With The People Who Need It

The key to feeding a hungry world is getting the food to where it's needed as efficiently as possible. At the Archer Daniels Midland Company, that's the job we perform each day. Our global processing and shipping network provides a vital link between the people who grow the food and the people who put it to use. And that helps bring our world a little closer together.

ADM

SUPERMARKET TO THE WORLD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Have It Your Way

What The Heritage Foundation Health Plan Means for You

Stuart M. Butler

During the last four years, my colleagues at The Heritage Foundation and I have been criss-crossing America talking about health care and the Heritage Consumer Choice Health Plan. Under the Heritage proposal, Americans would receive tax credits or vouchers to help them buy the health plan of their choice, and they would be able to keep the same plan no matter how often they changed jobs. We have discussed this proposal in hundreds of forums, from business conferences to "town hall" community meetings, and we have received comments from tens of thousands of Americans from all walks of life.

One of the most common questions we hear goes something like this: "I like your proposal, but I'm confused about how health care coverage would change for my family under your plan, and that worries me. How would the Heritage plan affect me and my family?"

The question reflects a seeming paradox in public opinion about health care. Most Americans want major reforms in the country's health care system—but not in the way they receive care themselves. The consumers we have spoken with are generally satisfied with the quality of their families' current care, but they are terrified that for some reason—because they change jobs, perhaps, or because insurance rates skyrocket—they won't at some time in the future be able to afford or otherwise obtain access to the quality of care they count on today.

Facing Disaster

To be sure, a minority of Americans today already face life without protection against crippling medical costs, or are dependent on charity care or third-rate public hospitals. Most of these individuals do get care, but their finances are constantly at risk. At any point in time during the year, as many as 30 million Americans may fall into this category. What is really driving the politics of health reform today, however, is the growing fear of insured middle-class Americans that one day they may join the minority who cannot afford—or because of poor health or other reasons, cannot obtain at any price—adequate health insurance.

Telling these Americans that uninsurance is an overstated problem, as some conservatives do, misses the political point. Every middle-class person knows a relative or neighbor who has faced financial disaster because they lacked adequate insurance. No one wants to be next.

Anxiety About Choice

Hillary Clinton understands this fear and is shrewdly exploiting it. She talks about "security" and conjures up the idea of a national health card that will wipe away the fear of bankruptcy. She knows how to touch raw middle-class nerves.

Polls also indicate the special vulnerability of some conservative solutions to the health care problem. Americans do want choice in health care. But they also have deep anxieties about choice if it means they are somehow on their own, having to bargain with doctors, hospitals and insurance companies. They see the health industry as too big and powerful for ordinary people to cope with. The idea of consumers using the yellow pages and a telephone to negotiate prices with surgeons may seem like nirvana to libertarian scholars, but to the average American that prospect is nothing short of a nightmare.

It doesn't matter whether people are right or wrong in how a consumer choice system actually would work: The simple fact is that the prospect of such a system alarms them. Thus one thing Americans want in a reformed system is a powerful institution on their side, an 800-pound gorilla, to represent their interests against the insurance companies and the hospitals. That's why so many people are drawn to a Canadian-type system, and to Mrs. Clinton's plan, in which the government plays the gorilla. It is why Mrs. Clinton gets cheered by people who should know better when she grouses about price gouging and profiteering in health care and proposes price controls. And it is why the Heritage proposal concentrates on how Americans could turn to a labor union, a church, or some other powerful organization working on their behalf, to bargain with health care providers and to construct a family plan.

It is doubtful that the Clinton plan will calm Americans' fears, once the plan's key elements become clear. For instance, a standardized benefits package will mean

Stuart M. Butler *is vice president and director of domestic policy studies at The Heritage Foundation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

big—possibly unacceptable—changes in the services actually available to many families. And it will mean Americans being forced to buy some services they don't want, such as elective abortions, and yet denied others they now take for granted. People also are likely to balk at the idea of a fixed budget for total health care spending once they realize it means their care will be rationed, as it is now in Canada.

Similarly, Americans will be alarmed when their own physician tells them that Mr. Clinton's promised "choice of doctor" will count for little when they are herded into managed care networks in which so-called "gate-keepers" will actually decide when patients will see a doctor or be admitted to hospital. And a mandate on employers to pay for increased benefits may win initial approval, since most Americans do not realize that employer-paid benefits actually come out of their paychecks. But as the debate warms up, and businesses start to tell workers that a mandate means smaller pay raises, or even some pink slips, Americans will become very nervous.

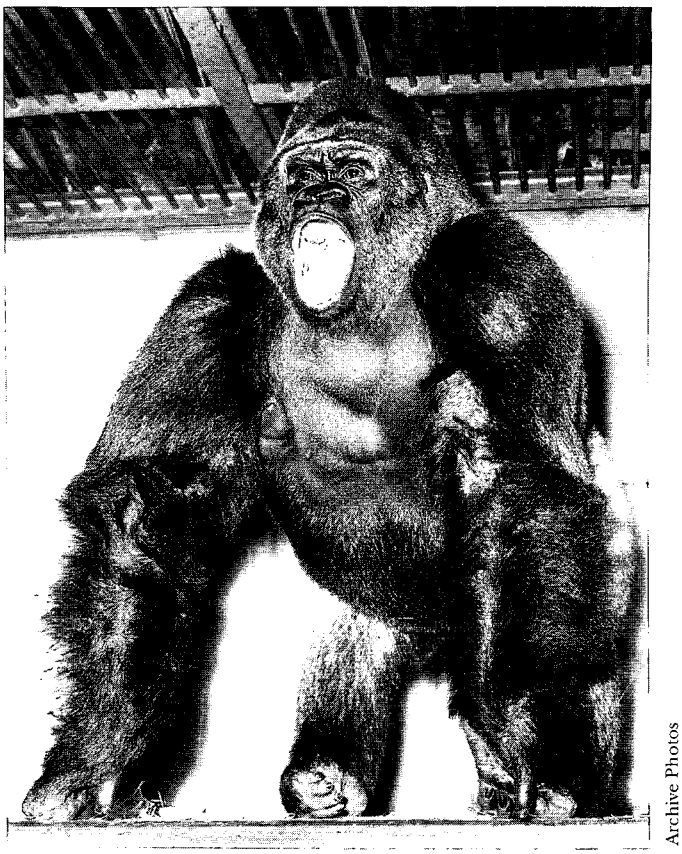
It is problems like these that make it likely that the Clinton Administration's plan will come unglued, once people begin to ask detailed questions about how it will affect them. On the other hand, The Heritage Foundation has designed a plan that not only uses consumer choice to deal with the deficiencies of the current system, but does so in ways that address the public's anxieties about change.

Front Page Story

To think about what a consumer choice health system would look like, if it were enacted, let's imagine the year is 1999, not 1993, and imagine too that the Heritage proposal, in some form, is now the law. Here's a possible *Wall Street Journal* front page story on the fifth anniversary of the proposal's enactment:

YPSILANTI, MICHIGAN: Back in the early 1990s, when he worked for General Motors, Jack Cooper, now 57, was very worried about his family's health care coverage. Not that GM wasn't generous. He had coverage that didn't cost him a dime—at least not that he could see in his paycheck. What worried Jack was that GM was downsizing plants and his was on the hit list for 1995. "I was in a tight spot," he says. "With my skills I could have gotten a job at a small engineering firm. I even thought of starting my own car repair place. But after my wife developed a heart condition there was no way we could get health insurance if I moved from GM. I thought I'd just have to wait until the bitter end and hope for the best."

But things turned out differently for Jack, and for millions of other Americans. Thanks to the health reform legislation of 1994, Jack was able to enroll in a new health plan offered by the UAW, his union, while he was at GM. When he did leave GM, a year later, he simply stayed in the UAW plan, and continued in it when he started his own business last year. "I have had two jobs between leaving GM and now, and even a few month's unemployment, but we haven't gone a day without health insurance." Even better, he adds, because he kept exactly the same plan without interruption, his wife didn't have to change cardiologists when he changed jobs, and his kids stayed with the same pediatrician. "Everything was the same and stayed nice and familiar."



Archive Photos

Americans want a powerful institution, an 800-pound gorilla, to represent their interests against insurance companies and hospitals.

Jack Cooper has benefitted from the reform that created today's USCare system for all working-age Americans. Back in the summer of 1993, America was waiting for Hillary Clinton to unveil the plan that most people assumed would be the basis for a radical overhaul of the system. But when the plan did emerge, late in the year, it proved to be dead on arrival. For one thing, the proposed mandate on employers raised worries among workers and employers of huge job losses. For another, middle-class Americans balked at the idea of a one-size-fits-all standardized benefits package. Many were incensed that they would be forced to pay for services they didn't want—such as elective abortions and chiropractor coverage—but couldn't get other services they used to receive and felt they needed.

Things worsened for the White House when it was disclosed that the federal unions had persuaded the president, as the price for their support, effectively to exempt Capitol Hill staff and other federal workers from the plan, so that they could remain in the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program (FEHBP). The FEHBP gave Members of Congress and other federal employees a wide choice of plans with a selection of benefit packages. Under the Clinton plan, other Americans would have had to settle for a standardized set of benefits.

The political turning point came early in 1994, when the network news carried scenes of outraged middle-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

class demonstrators banging on Representative Dan Rostenkowski's car as the House Ways and Means Chairman hastily left a raucous Chicago meeting intended to build support for the Clinton plan. Evidently referring to the FEHBP, several demonstrators held placards saying "Dan—Let us in *your* health plan!"

Mr. Rostenkowski subsequently swung his support behind the bipartisan proposal, first put forward by Senate Republicans and The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, to change the tax code to, in effect, open up a modified FEHBP to all Americans. The proposal received a powerful boost from the federal unions, who saw it as a way of retaining the central features of their own coverage. It also gained the backing of conservative Democrats, who had long opposed the price controls and the other regulation in Clinton's plan, yet could get no popular support for their bureaucratic version of consumer choice, known as managed competition.

Tax Breaks

The USCare system, which took effect in the Fall of 1994, allows Americans to receive a tax credit for plans obtained directly from an insurer or through any accredited organization, such as a union or a church. Out-of-pocket medical expenses and special "medisave" accounts also qualify for the credit. Previously, only employer-sponsored insurance plans, but not deductibles and co-payments, were eligible for a tax break. Lower-paid workers with little tax liability receive a voucher to help pay for care, in the form of a so-called "refundable credit." All households are required to obtain at least a bare-bones health plan, which must include protection against "catastrophic" medical bills, but they receive tax breaks for more elaborate plans of their choosing.

The 1994 reform also required insurance companies to renew coverage without raising rates on a selective basis. "The aim of this change was to turn health insurance into real insurance, so that the insurance companies, not families, had to take the risk someone was going to get sick," says a senior congressional staffer close to the reform. The reform made health insurance much more like 20- or 30-year renewable life insurance policies. If a family wants to switch to another health plan, they may face a modest cancellation charge, and they can be charged a special, higher rate by the new plan, based on their medical situation. However, the special premium cannot be more than 25 percent above the average premium charged by the new plan. "This is to discourage people from flitting from one plan to another for just a few months, or each year," says the same staffer, "just to take temporary advantage of certain elective services in higher-option plans. That was a big problem with the more generous plans in the FEHBP."

One of the most immediate effects of the introduction of USCare was a rapid decline in the number of uninsured. Armed with a credit or voucher, and the requirement to obtain at least basic coverage, millions of uninsured Americans enrolled in health plans rather than just showing up at the emergency room for their care. This, in turn, has led a big reduction in the unpaid bills at hospitals run up by uninsured patients—costs that often used to be passed on in higher charges to other patients with insurance.

Before the reform, state and local taxpayers had to pay out over $13 billion each year to help hospitals badly hit by non-paying patients. Billions more dollars in losses were added to the bills of insured patients. The National Association of Manufacturers estimated that companies paid an additional $11.5 billion in 1991 in higher medical charges to subsidize non-paying patients.

Putting a Face on Health Care

In an even more significant development, millions more Americans have switched their coverage from employment-sponsored plans to plans offered through other organizations. Polls indicate that there are two main reasons for this. First, families have become less and less trustful of employers as the arbiters of their health coverage, and many would prefer their plans to be handled by someone they trust more to act on their behalf, such as their union. And second, the high labor turnover in today's economy has encouraged more families to obtain their health plan from an organization with which they have a long-term affiliation.

The most popular such organizations have been unions. First to market health plans to non-members were the postal unions, which had sponsored health plans to federal workers under the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program. In fact, in 1993, about one-third of the nine million members of the FEHBP were in plans sponsored by unions or other employee organizations, and the Mailhandlers' insurance plan, one of the most popular, served 20 times as many people as the union had regular members.

The Postal Workers Union and the Mailhandlers began in 1995 to market their plans directly to families in the private sector. "Let's face it," said a spokesman for the Postal Workers, "with letter carriers knocking on every door in America, people can put a face on the organization responsible for their health care." The UAW and other industrial unions followed, marketing mainly to families in major industrial cities. Union-sponsored health plans are now the fastest-growing sector of health insurance today, with over 10 percent of the nation enrolled in such plans. Fewer than half of the enrollees are union members or their dependents.

There has also been an explosion of plans offered through churches, especially in the inner cities and in rural areas. In Utah, the Mormon church launched a health plan in 1996, backed by the Aetna insurance company. The Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists began to offer national plans that same year, based on their networks of hospitals. In America's inner cities, the leading black churches, which have a long history of addressing the social as well as spiritual needs of their congregations, have reached agreements with insurance companies and hospitals and now market health plans within their communities. Significantly, the plans offered through the black churches include more generous coverage for ailments associated with high blood pressure—a problem experienced disproportionately by black Americans.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One-Stop Shopping

State farm bureau plans also have proved very popular. While these plans were widely available before the 1994 reform, most families received no tax breaks or other help for purchasing them—unless their employer chose to pay for them. "But with the new tax breaks and vouchers," says John Maddox of the Virginia Farm Bureau, "our plan became the hottest seller in town."

Other health plans have developed to cater for households with special needs. For example, a network of hispanic organizations, including the National Coalition of Hispanic Health & Human Services Organizations (COSSMHO), developed a health plan now available in 15 states, including California and Florida. Among the features of the plan, all primary care physicians affiliated with the plan must be fluent in Spanish. And the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) launched a comprehensive health plan for Americans over 50 years of age. "With our huge negotiating power and our mail-order drug business," explains Pete Johnson, the vice-president in charge of the plan, "we offer a product that's hard to beat. Many of our new subscribers also are signing up with our long term care plan, which is fully compatible with the health coverage. We offer 'one stop shopping' health care for mature Americans."

This quiet revolution in the way medical care is delivered to ordinary families has been very popular, because no one is forced to change the way he receives care. Moreover, families dissatisfied with their employer-sponsored plan—if they have one—are free to choose a plan to suit their needs, and receive tax or voucher relief to pay for the plan. The reform also enables families to keep their chosen plan, no matter how many times they change their jobs.

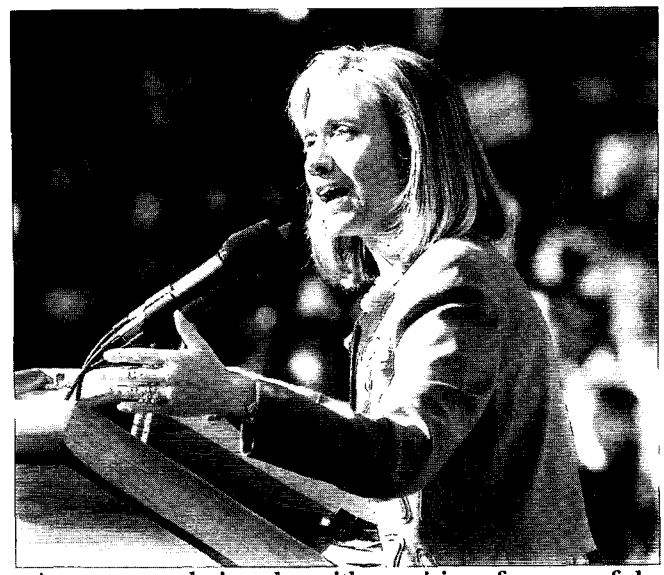
Church-Based Health Care

The new system has had a huge impact for the better on the lives of millions of Americans. Some examples:

Bob Wilson, 28, lives in west Philadelphia and attends the Zion Baptist Church, a black church in his community. He has worked for almost seven years as a driver with a small dry cleaning company. Until 1995 he had no insurance because his employer didn't provide it and he couldn't afford it on his modest earnings.

But that year his church joined with several other African-American churches in Philadelphia to launch a new health plan, using local health maintenance organizations (HMOs). Mr. Wilson pays $2,500 each year for coverage and in an average year pays another $300 for routine care. Given his relatively low pay, he receives a voucher equal to about half of his yearly insurance and out-of-pocket costs. "That's the only reason I could afford it." His employer is required to deduct the monthly premium for Bob's coverage and send a check to the plan Bob has chosen.

Some of Bob's co-workers in management have opened tax-free medical savings accounts to help pay for future out-of-pocket medical costs. But Bob has not elected to have a medisave plan. "I live from paycheck to paycheck. I don't have anything left to put in a savings account for health care or anything else."



New Jersey Newsphotos

A consumer choice plan with provisions for powerful negotiation of prices and benefits is the best antidote to the Clinton health plan.

Bob's employer is very happy with USCare's system of health credits. "We've always been just too close to the margin to pay for employee health care ourselves," says Pete Rayner, the owner of Fastkleen, where Bob works. "That's what made us so nervous about the Clinton proposal and other ideas that would have forced us to pay for care. I just couldn't have paid out another four or five thousand for each worker. I would have had to fire people, and cut the wages of the others I kept." Instead, Bob now receives a tax credit that Mr. Rayner's payroll clerk factors into Bob's tax withholdings. "It's pretty simple—just another line in figuring out the withholdings. And we let the IRS know which plan everyone picks, so they can make sure everyone has at least a catastrophic plan."

Bob Wilson's church is an active player in his health care. "Every other Sunday a doctor and nurse show up at church," he explains. "Immediately after the service they are available to give immunizations to kids or to deal with any basic medical questions. The minister tells the young mothers in the congregation to make sure their kids get the shots—and nobody dares argue with him!" The minister, the Reverend Earl Johnson, smiles when told of his reputation as a medical tough guy. "Sometimes people need a little guidance. They take it from me because they trust me. And they know if they have any major problem with the health plan I will call the hospital and straighten it out. The Philadelphia churches have a health advisory group, drawn from the congregations, to help the ministers and to organize health care 'outreach' programs in each community."

Exploding Market

David Garcia, 39, lives with his wife and two children just outside San Diego. Although he had health coverage through the small computer firm where has worked since college as a technician, he elected last year to instruct his employer to give him the $4,000 annual value of his family coverage. He now uses that money, which is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eligible for the health tax credit, for a plan offered through COSSMHO, a coalition of Hispanic medical groups.

Mr. Garcia picked his new plan after consulting his insurance broker, who looked at health care in the context of his other insurance, and after reviewing competing plans in the California edition of *Health Care Consumers' Checkbook*. The *Checkbook* is an outgrowth of the Washington-based *Consumers' Checkbook Guide to Health Insurance Plans for Federal Employees*, which for many years has rated alternative plans for federal workers, providing financial and other information on different plans. *Health Care Consumers' Checkbook* and *Consumer Reports* are the two biggest-selling guides to health plans. "Now that every American can make the kind of real choice once confined to federal workers," explains Walt Francis, editor in chief of the *Checkbook*, "the market for consumer information has exploded."

Mr. Francis adds that thanks to pioneering work by the Rand Corporation's Robert Brook and regional hospital data obtained by consortia of employers, *Checkbook* is now able to give user-friendly information on plans and hospitals. "Basically we can now give consumers information on the quality of the medical care they can expect. We can give them properly adjusted information, for example, on what the success rate of cancer treatment has been at a particular hospital, as well as the reputation of that hospital among physicians. In other words, we can give people the same kind of hard information, as well as informed opinion, on health plans that they have had available for years when buying a car."

Although his new plan costs about the same as his former employer-sponsored plan, Mr. Garcia cites several reasons for switching, besides the plan's high *Checkbook* rating. "One was the simple fact that all the primary care doctors speak Spanish. My wife's English is not that great, and even though the doctors were good in our other plan, I was worried that the language barrier could lead to mistakes." In addition, he found the COSSMHO plan had a better range of services than his old plan, particularly pediatric care. "I work with a bunch of neurotic, healthy young singles. The company plan wasn't big on services for kids but it had all this fancy 'finding yourself' counselling stuff. I needed a plan that was more interested in scraped knees and chicken-pox!" Garcia also says that the company was always looking for ways to chip away at its health care costs. "I don't blame them," he says, "but I didn't want to have to worry about what the company would do next. I wanted to be the one deciding what care my family receives."

While the story above is fanciful, there are many reasons to suppose that the events and the personal vignettes are quite plausible outcomes of reform modelled on the Heritage proposal. As organizations that play a central role in the lives of millions of ordinary Americans, for instance, unions would be a natural sponsor of health plans in an America in which families could get tax breaks and other help to buy a plan from groups other than their employer. The fact that about one-third of the nine million federal workers now choose union plans, even if they have no other connection with a union, is testimony to the attractiveness of such plans. Other organizations, such as churches, would likely take on the role of health plan sponsors because they are large enough groups to win price concessions from health care providers. Also, some denominations are already deeply involved in operating hospitals.

There is no particular logic to employer-sponsored health benefits. Employers don't pick schools or colleges for their employees' children, nor do they choose a family's life insurance or the church they will attend. They only arrange health care because of a heavy bias in the current tax code. Still, if families wished to remain in plans provided through their employer, they would be able to do so, and receive exactly the same tax breaks as anyone else.

Freedom for Families

There is, of course, nothing in the Heritage proposal to preclude families from becoming informed consumers and negotiating for most of their services themselves, using insurance only for genuinely catastrophic events. However, we think that while most Americans highly value choice, and want the right to determine what medical services and doctors will be in their plan, they also want to be able to pick someone powerful to negotiate prices and benefits on their behalf. That is why we believe a consumer choice proposal that emphasizes this is the one most likely to win broad popular support and thus is the best political antidote to the Clinton plan.

While many employers, with the agreement of their workers, might continue to be the sponsor of health care, the central feature of the Heritage approach is that it would break, once and for all, the effective requirement that Americans must obtain their health care benefits from their employer. It shares that with the Canadian system. But unlike Canada or Britain or Sweden, the Heritage proposal does not rely on central planning, rationing, and price controls to allocate resources and keep prices down: it relies instead on consumer choice and free markets.

Not only does the proposal free families from dependence on their employers, but it also frees employers from the costs and headaches of having to run a national health system. Instead, employers would no longer make paternalistic decisions about the health care of their workers and their families. Under our approach, families can make all the decisions themselves, or they can delegate the detailed decisions over their care to someone else. But they make the choice, not their employer and not the government. And because—with tax credit or vouchers to assist them—they are paying for the plan they choose, they control the flow of dollars and hence call the shots.

Giving Americans the final say over what health services they receive, and what they will cost, is the heart of the Heritage approach. And having that power means ultimate security for families. That is why we think a consumer choice proposal is bound to prevail over one which would give the government inordinate power over the personal medical decisions of every American. ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Heritage Foundation Consumer Choice Plan

The Heritage Foundation has developed a plan to provide health insurance for every American. The strategy is to create a competitive market of multiple health-care plans and providers, in which consumers shop for coverage that meets their needs at a price they can afford.

Tax Relief for Any Plan. Rather than relying on employers to provide insurance, the Heritage plan would help people buy health coverage directly. Here's how: The federal "tax exclusion" for company-sponsored health insurance—worth tens of billions of dollars but available only for company plans—would be replaced by tax credits given directly to individuals and families to help them buy their own health insurance. Tax credits also would be applied toward out-of-pocket costs, such as insurance deductibles and contributions to "medisave" accounts.

Though families could keep the same employer-based plans they have today, all households would be required by law to buy basic health-care coverage. The size of a family's tax credit would depend on its health-care costs compared with its income—low income or large medical bills would mean a larger tax credit. For the working poor who pay little or no taxes, the value of their tax credit would serve as a voucher to help pay for medical benefits.

The Right to Cash Out Existing Plans. Employees with company-based plans could, after a majority vote of the workforce, require their employer to "cash out" the company's plan, adding its value to their paychecks. If this happened today, a typical family would receive a annual bonus of over $4,000. Workers then could look for their own plans, and would have an incentive to shop wisely: If they find a less expensive package, they would pocket the savings.

No one, however, would be forced to change his health coverage—unlike the Clinton plan. Even if the majority of workers voted to leave the company-sponsored plan, those who wanted to keep their existing package could do so on a modified basis. Moreover, each worker staying with the company plan would own their policy directly—and would keep exactly the same benefits and doctors if he or she changed jobs.

A Requirement to Buy Catastrophic Insurance. While the Heritage plan would give families wide freedom to pick the plan and services they wanted, they would be obliged to obtain at least catastrophic insurance—that is, protection against medical bills that otherwise might bankrupt them. The price tag for such insurance would differ depending on the amount of financial protection required. Again, the purpose of this requirement is to prevent freeloading households from going without insurance—even when they can afford it. Today, such families cost the rest of us billions; they know that, in the event of a medical crisis, they will receive catastrophic care, and the cost will be passed along to the hospital, other insured patients, or the taxpayers.

Insurance Reforms. Under the Heritage plan, families would have the right to renew their coverage each year at a rate increase no larger than the percentage hike charged to other policy-holders. Families could no longer be dropped from a plan, or be charged far higher premiums, just because they have had a run of costly medical bills.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Better Shop Around

How Federal Workers Choose Their Health Care

Anna Bray

Proponents of greater government control over medical care frequently argue that when it comes to health, ordinary people are incapable of making intelligent marketplace decisions. Deborah Stone, a professor of law and social policy at Brandeis University, for example, recently wrote in the *American Prospect*: "[A] sphere where citizens receive services according to need rather than ability to pay cannot be understood as just another marketplace. Medical care, moreover, is not an area where consumers typically are able to make well-informed choices ('Say, Doc, I think I have a touch of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis') or are guided by what economists delicately call 'tastes' ('I feel like having an appendectomy today')."

Now obviously, the average person cannot diagnose himself, and the patient in need of emergency care is in no position to shop for the best price. But this disparagement of consumer choice is an insult to the decision-making abilities of American families. Consumers may not be able to choose what health care they ought to receive, but they are capable of choosing who provides it and how to pay for it.

A National Market

Indeed, millions of Americans are doing exactly that. Every year, under the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program (FEHBP), over 4 million federal employees and retirees—from postal workers to Capitol Police officers to members of Congress—select the health insurance package of their choice in a fiercely competitive market that offers a diverse array of plans.

Choices for federal employees include 14 fee-for-service plans and nearly 400 Health Maintenance Organizations. With fee-for-service plans, traditional insurance plans pay the provider of medical care directly, or reimburse the insured person for covered charges. HMOs provide health-care networks of doctors and hospitals from which a member must receive all non-emergency care. Depending on the region of the country, federal employees have up to 13 local HMOs to choose from.

Altogether, when enrollees' families are included, 9 million Americans are covered in the program—at a cost to federal taxpayers of $16 billion a year. The federal government pays, on average, 72 percent of a plan's premium, with a higher percentage paid for postal workers. Blue Cross/Blue shield is the largest force in the market, insuring over 40 percent of enrollees.

The second most popular plan is offered by the Mail Handlers Union, a small postal union with roughly 40,000 members. Rated the best value of any fee-for-service plan by the *Washington Consumer Checkbook's Guide to the FEHBP*, the Mail Handlers plan has 510,000 enrollees and covers 1.2 million people. The union makes nearly $18 million a year by charging non-union members $36 annually to join its health plan.

Postal unions oppose competition when it comes to mail delivery. But they love it when it comes to health insurance. Competition between health plans for enrollees has "absolutely played a key role in our plan's success," Mark Gardner, the secretary-treasurer of the Mail Handlers Union, said. "When you're the only one providing a certain service, you have no reason to be cost-effective. We're providing a far superior service for a lower price."

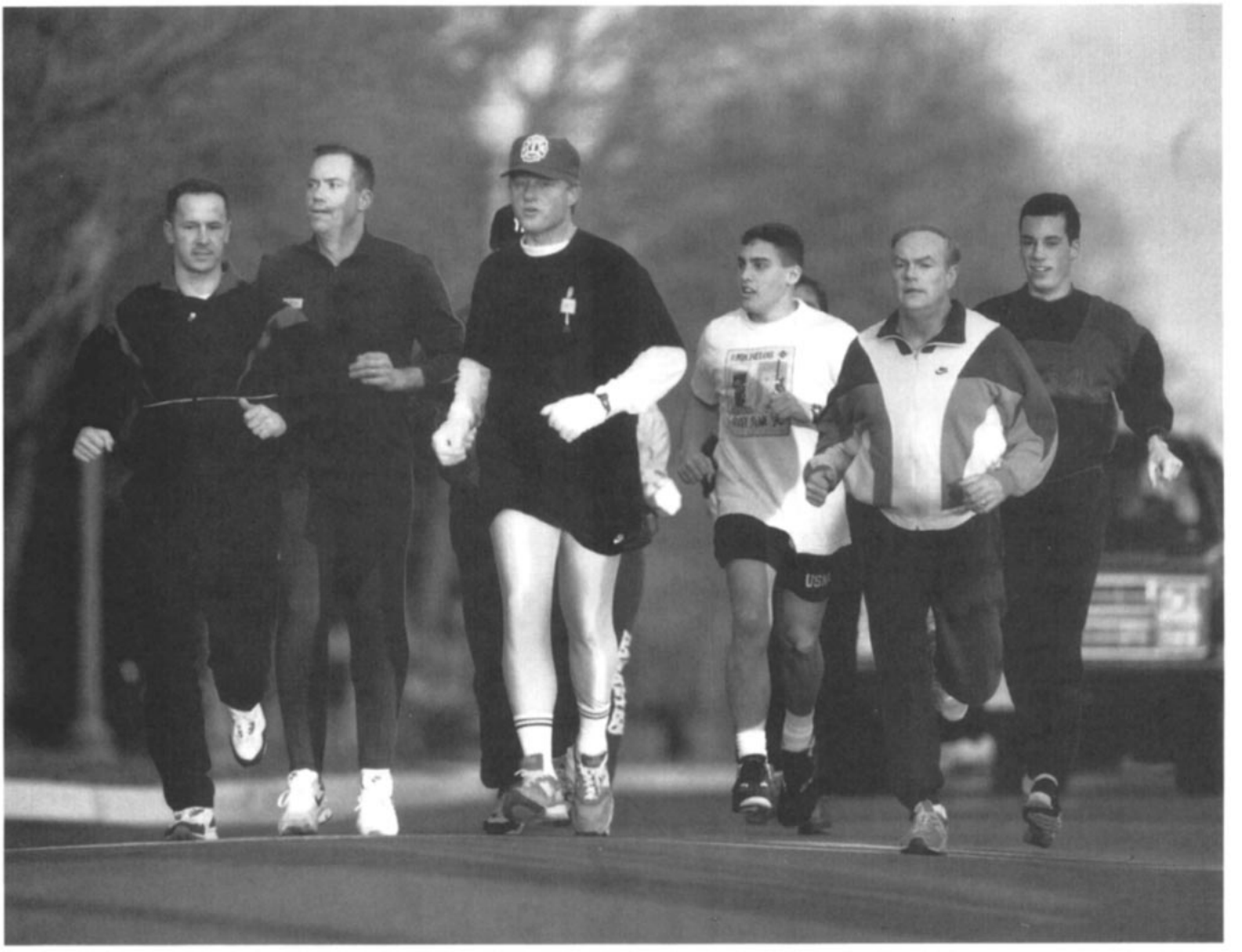
Five other postal unions offer their own health plans, as do a number of employee associations. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Secret Service agents both have their own plans. One of the best deals available is limited—no surprise here—to members of Congress and employees of the legislative branch. The Beneficial Association of Capitol Hill Employees (BACE) can keep its premiums low in part because most of its members are robustly young and healthy.

Open Season

During the annual "Open Season," from November to December, federal employees have the opportunity to change their health plan, and about 5 percent of them elect to do so. John Mellis, an analyst at the Department of Transportation, has been a federal employee since 1967. In that time he has switched health plans three times; all of those changes were "rate-driven," he says. Most recently, his family switched to Government Employees Health Association (GEHA) from the Postmas-

Anna Bray *is a news assistant for the AP/Dow Jones News Service.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



President Bill Clinton has his choice of government health care plans, as do Secret Service members.

ters plan, one of the most expensive in FEHBP. At one point, the Postmasters plan, despite its high premiums, served their needs well because it covered dental care for the Mellises' daughter. "When that was over, I didn't think the higher premium warranted such extensive coverage. Why should you pay for that if you don't need it?"

Price Makes A Difference

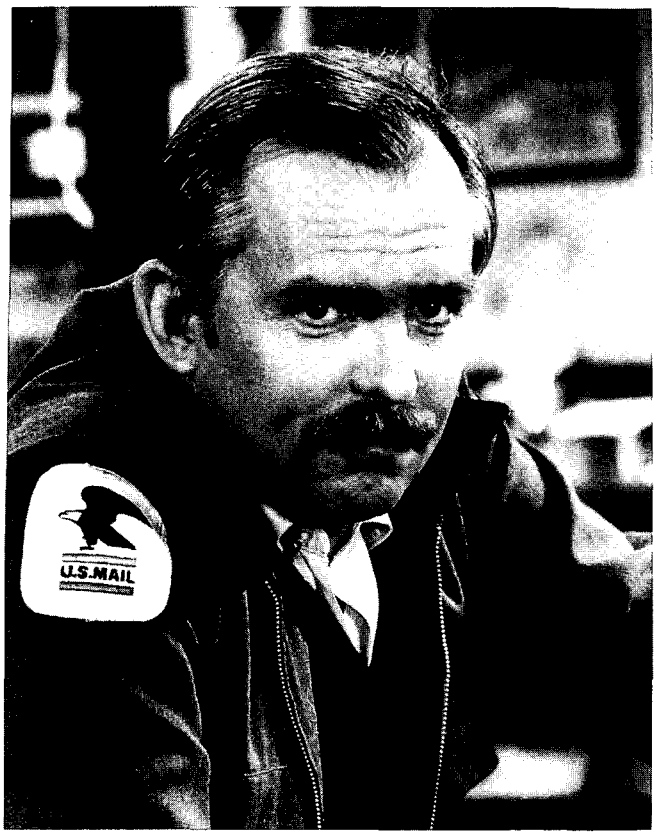
Helen Dalrymple and her husband, both professional federal employees for some 25 years, recently switched from the Blue Cross/Blue Shield High Option to the Blues Standard Option. The High option provides extensive benefits, for mental health care and hospital inpatient care, and the Dalrymples did not feel that they used as much medical care as they were paying for. Their premiums in the Standard Option are $3,000 a year lower. "If the price went up astronomically," says Mrs. Dalrymple, "we'd look at a different plan."

The Dalrymples' son has just turned 22, is out of school, and is not yet employed. Because they are federal employees, the Dalrymples can purchase insurance from a FEHB plan for their son, but without the government contribution; they have the right to continue his coverage for 36 months after his 22nd birthday. Their son has no health problems, but they worried about what might happen in the case of an emergency. So they bought a plan for their son with few benefits other than catastrophic protection. The plan they chose was the Mail Handlers Union Standard Option, which costs them $118.41 a month. "We bought it because it was cheap, and we only needed catastrophic coverage for him."

The marketplace works even for those who don't change plans. Louis Cole, a sheet-metal mechanic with the federal government for three years, is enrolled in the Kaiser Permanente HMO plan. During the 1992 Open Season, he went to a health fair to see what the other plans had to offer. "Everything was well-explained, but I didn't really see a reason to change. I'm very seldom sick, and I got this plan because everything was there if I happened to need it. I don't have to go over here and there for care."

Hazel Spicer agrees. A worker in the Senate cafeteria, she also has enrolled in the Kaiser Permanente HMO for nine years. "The price goes up," she admits, "and if it went up too high, I'd switch, but the way it's organized is better for me." It is not for fear of losing coverage that federal employees stay with a particular plan; they can change without regard to pre-existing conditions, a feature that is offered only rarely to workers in the private sector.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Archive Photos

Rated the best value of any fee-for-service plan, the Mail Handlers plan has 510,000 enrollees and covers 1.2 million people.

As in all competitive markets, the consumer has many information sources to help him make decisions. The government's Office of Personnel Management publishes a brochure that lists all plans available, their rates, and comparisons of different benefits. Employees can buy different consumer guides, such as *Washington Consumers' Checkbook*, which rates plans according to average cost—including premium and estimated out-of-pocket costs—and explains the major differences in benefits offered by the plans; and the *Open Season Guide*, published by the National Association of Retired Federal Employees. The *Washington Post* devotes several of its "Federal Diary" columns to the subject, publicizing health fairs, and giving tips on how to choose a health plan. Representatives from area health plans visit health fairs at most major agencies to distribute literature and answer questions about particular benefits. One of the best sources of information is word of mouth—from fellow employees.

The first factor that consumers usually consider when buying a health plan is whether it allows them to choose their physician. For William Wilson, a procurement specialist with the U.S. Postal Service, choice of doctor is everything. "I wouldn't belong to a plan that told me what doctor to go to." When the government hired Constance Meehan two years ago to work in the Department of Transportation's personnel office, she considered some of the HMOs offered under FEHBP. "But I didn't want that because I didn't want to use their doctors."

Predictably, the cost of a plan and its level of coverage is the other major factor in choosing health insurance. While few private-sector employees have an incentive to be cost-conscious, federal employees have every reason to think about the value of their plans, because they can save money by choosing wisely.

Customer Satisfaction

Federal employees often cite customer service when explaining their reasons for staying with a plan, especially when they are enrollees in a fee-for-service plan. Mr. Mellis is pleased with GEHA's service: "When we've submitted claims, it's been very responsive. It's well-administered."

The OPM has regulated a minimum standard of benefits that every plan in FEHBP must meet. The major differences in coverage include mental health, dental care, and prescription drugs. William Spracklin, a laborer with the Architect of the Capitol, has long been enrolled in GEHA. He is no longer totally satisfied with his coverage, because treatment for his wife's costly dental treatment remains mostly uncovered. GEHA is among the plans offering very limited coverage for dental care. The Spracklins are considering a switch next Open Season to limit their out-of-pocket expenses, should his wife need continued treatment. "We really have to look into it this year," says Mr. Spracklin. "It's good they have the Open Season, or you could get stuck with a plan you don't like," he adds. Most of the program's HMOs offer the best dental coverage, but the Spracklins want to stay with their family doctors.

No plan has the exact same level of coverage for every medical problem. Maternity coverage, skilled nursing care, and routine checkups are all covered differently. So a person can choose a plan based on what he expects his needs will be for the upcoming year.

Prescription-drug coverage varies as well. Most HMOs require a copayment for prescriptions, usually $5 per order. Almost all of the plans in FEHBP offer a discount mail-order prescription-drug service. Some fee-for-service plans, such as Mail Handlers and Alliance, have prescription-drug deductibles, after which they pay most drug costs. Other fee-for-service plans require a copayment, usually between 10 and 20 percent of the cost.

Postal unions oppose competition when it comes to mail delivery. But they love it when it comes to health insurance.

The differences in benefits like prescription-drug coverage have led some critics of FEHBP to conclude that insurance companies do not cover certain things fully in order to keep retirees and less healthy employees from enrolling. Since 1984, retired federal employees have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been eligible for Medicare once they turn 65, which is their primary health coverage; any FEHBP policy carried by such a retiree is supplementary. But the majority of retirees (and their dependents)—those retired from government service but are not yet 65 and those who retired before 1984—are not covered by Medicare. These are the enrollees who potentially will cost an insurance company the most, and who tend to cluster in the plans with the most extensive coverage, such as Blue Cross/Blue Shield high option (87 percent annuitants) and Alliance (63 percent annuitants). This tendency for high-risk individuals to cluster in plans with the most extensive coverage is known as risk segmentation or adverse selection, and it is the most frequent criticism of FEHBP.

A Market at Work

Just as in any other market, FEHBP plans that have sent their premiums skyrocketing have found their enrollees leaving in droves. When the National Treasury Employees Union plan raised its premiums by 145 percent, it was not long before more than half of its enrollees changed plans, and the plan consequently was discontinued because it was not able to keep its costs down. Blue Cross/Blue Shield had similar problems with its high-option plan, which is one of the most expensive ones offered under FEHBP. In 1991 it raised monthly premiums by over $40 and lost 18 percent of its enrollees. There can be no doubt that consumers are sending signals to the market—the price of a plan matters.

By contrast, FEHBP plans that have offered good value, relatively comprehensive benefits, and an affordable price have seen their popularity surge. One example is the rise in popularity of HMOs. In 1980 there were 86 HMOs participating in FEHBP nationwide; in 1991 there were 372, representing 28 percent of total enrollment in FEHBP. Over 80 percent of all HMOs in the country participate in FEHBP, and they are allowed to join the program without any barriers, unlike fee-for-service plans, which are strictly regulated.

Although on average, premiums have risen faster for HMOs than for fee-for-service plans in FEHBP, their total cost to an enrollee is usually far lower. Barbara Bardford, a receptionist in the House of Representatives, switched her family's health plan from Blue Cross/Blue Shield to Group Health Association (GHA). Enrolled in the high-option plan, she notes that "sometimes you have to wait a long time to see someone, but with kids, an HMO is much less expensive."

Because of their high costs, many of the fee-for-service plans have begun offering a preferred provider organization (PPO) to limit costs, while keeping some choice of doctor for enrollees. This cost-containment measure also has benefited consumers, giving them yet another option, this one a compromise between having total control over which doctor to see, and having little say at all. Elizabeth Shaw, who works as an environmental protection specialist at the EPA, is an enrollee in Blue Cross/Blue Shield, and uses its preferred providers for her routine care. "Although I *can* choose any doctor I want, there are preferred providers among whom I can choose. My gynecologist is a preferred provider, so I only have to pay $10 for the doctor visit—but I still can choose."

FEHBP offers us a glimpse of what a competitive market for health care might look like.

Most of the more successful fee-for-service plans in FEHBP, such as BACE and the Mail Handlers plans, have extensive PPO arrangements, and cite them as one of the main ways that they hold down their costs. BACE "was among the first to offer cost-containment programs," said Colleen Gomlak, a BACE administrator. She added that BACE was able to offer such low rates because of its "very extensive PPO." Gene Raymond, the director of program services for CNA Insurance Companies, which underwrites the Mail Handlers Benefit Plan, attributes the union's low health-insurance rates not only to spreading the risk pool, but also to the PPO arrangement.

Meeting Shifting Demands

Consumers shopping for health plans that meet their needs, a host of providers adjusting and modifying services to meet shifting demands—FEHBP offers us a glimpse of what a competitive market for health care might look like.

And what of health care costs? In 1992, FEHBP premiums increased by 8 percent, compared with over 12 percent in the private sector. Perhaps even more important, this relative success in holding down rate increases was achieved not through bureaucratic measures such as price controls or rationing but through the decisions of millions of Americans—each choosing the health plan best for their families.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After more than 55 years of education, here's what we've learned.

For more than half a century, we've been involved in America's educational system. And through it all, we've learned many lessons. But what have the past 55-plus years really taught us?

First, that there are no overnight solutions. Improving America's competitiveness through education is a constant process. Which brings us to the second thing we know: that we need your help. To succeed, we must all be partners. By working together – by donating our time, our support, and by contributing our collective creativity and experience – we can once again make bright, well-trained minds America's most vital asset.

So join us in supporting our schools. Together, we have the power to improve America's educational system. Together, we have the power to improve the future.

SUPERAMERICA Ashland Valvoline

Ashland Oil, Inc. Ashland, Kentucky

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Michigan's Welfare Abolitionist

John Engler's Conservative Compassion

Lawrence W. Reed

Michigan's governor John Engler recently captured national attention in his campaign for radical reform of school finance. Two years ago, he embarked on another radical campaign—the abolition of general assistance (GA) welfare for single, childless, able-bodied adults.

On October 1, 1991, legislation signed by Governor Engler cut off $250 million in general assistance benefits to able-bodied adults. Of the 105,000 men and women who received such benefits in 1991, 82 percent had never held a job in their lives. Naysayers predicted that Mr. Engler's plan to end the program would lead to widespread homelessness, deprivation, and death.

Two years later, the results—and the lessons for other states—are in: In April 1993, 34 percent of all terminated GA clients had been employed during the previous year, at least part time. Many others who were physically or mentally unable to work are now receiving disability payments and other government services they should have been getting in the first place. Equally impressive, private organizations across Michigan—from the Salvation Army to local soup kitchens—moved quickly to help the neediest of those unable to find work.

Success Stories

Stirring success stories are not hard to come by. Consider these accounts:

Chris Wilson, 36, from Grand Rapids's distressed Heartside neighborhood, now works 30 hours per week at a packaging job. After being released from prison, Mr. Wilson was on GA for four years. He said he started stealing to support his three younger siblings after his mother died, and he quit school at 14. Originally angered by GA termination, Mr. Wilson says, "The way it worked out, it's good. I'm used to working." He believes he wouldn't take a welfare check if one were offered now.

In Detroit, former GA client Brenda Beasley, 38, is now a counselor at a Detroit interdenominational homeless shelter for women and children. She had worked on and off while raising her daughter, falling back on federal assistance between jobs, and eventually transferred to GA.

A volunteer from the shelter, who came to her door a year ago to discuss religion, suggested she consider "working for the Lord." An interview and a job offer followed. "I feel good about myself and my life," Ms. Beasley says. "At first, when Governor Engler did it, I was angry. Now I'm glad he did it, because it made me get off my butt and go to work." She also has returned to school, nearing certification in substance abuse counseling.

Ms. Beasley has many responsibilities at the shelter, where up to 40 homeless women and 15 children—victims of substance abuse, domestic violence and eviction—find temporary accommodations. Ms. Beasley evaluates new arrivals, arranges room placements, and counsels residents on shelter rules, health, and personal growth. "I try to point them in the direction of the Lord," she says.

A Virtue Out of Necessity

When John Engler took office in January 1991, Michigan faced a budget crisis. His Democratic predecessor, James Blanchard, had left behind a $1.8-billion deficit out of a $7.6-billion state operating budget. A moderate Republican, Mr. Engler had been elected on promises to deliver tax relief to families burdened by the fifth-highest property taxes in America, while emphasizing education and welfare reform.

As Governor Engler and his advisers huddled to devise a strategy to put the state's fiscal house in order, reviewing spending line by line, the need to streamline the social welfare system became obvious. At $2.5 billion, the state taxpayer share of the Department of Social Services budget was the single-largest spending item.

The return on this investment by taxpayers was poor. Despite the robust economy Michigan enjoyed during the expansionary 1980s, welfare caseloads remained stubbornly high. In 1990, one in eight Michigan citizens received some sort of assistance through such programs as general assistance, food stamps, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). With 7.3 percent of people on AFDC, Michigan was the national leader in this category, eclipsing California and Mississippi. Family breakup had fueled an explosion in children removed from their homes for neglect and abuse.

Lawrence W. Reed *is president of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, a Midland, Michigan-based research and education organization.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENGLER GO HOME
HOMELESS PEOPLE NEED THE
VOTE
STOP THE WAR ON POOR
HOMELESS CAN'T VOTE BECAUSE THEY NEED AN ADDRESS. WHY CAN'T THEY JUST VOTE? ASK ENGLER

Lansing State Journal/Rod Sanford

The cuts were initially vilified in the media by former public assistance clients, welfare-rights advocates, and state-employee unions. The naysayers have been proved wrong.

No program better exemplified the failure of Michigan's welfare system than GA. One of only eight state programs nationally to aid able-bodied adults, GA drained the treasury of $250 million annually. Its recipients lingered on the assistance rolls an average of 22 months at a time.

Governor Engler had long been convinced that Michigan welfare policy fostered multigenerational welfare dependency and encouraged family breakup. The previous administration's non-obligatory education and job-training initiatives had failed to make a dent in the size of the GA client population. It was clear that strong medicine was needed.

In 1990, one in eight Michigan citizens received some sort of state assistance.

The successful start of Mr. Engler's revolution in state welfare policy was by no means certain. With control of the Michigan Legislature split between a Republican-led Senate and a Democratic House majority, Governor Engler's plan to terminate GA started a long and grinding war of attrition between GA opponents and supporters. House Democrats won the first battle in January 1991 when they rejected an Engler executive order to end GA immediately. This was a Pyrrhic victory for the welfare-rights lobby, however, because it led to a 15-percent across-the-board cut in almost all public assistance programs, not just GA.

Debate over Mr. Engler's first full-year budget for social services turned into a bruising, bitter contest between those who wanted to raid the state's Rainy Day fund to keep GA alive for another year and those who wanted to end it right away. But John Engler is a crafty legislative strategist who wins more than he loses, his skills honed by 20 years in the Michigan House and Senate. On September 27, 1991, just four days before the start of the new fiscal year, nine conservative House Democrats joined House Republicans in recognizing that GA was a luxury that the state's taxpayers no longer could afford.

The Axe Falls on GA

The number of GA cases had grown from 50,000 in 1979, when Michigan first established GA as a statewide program, to a high of 148,000 cases in 1984. Immediately before the axe fell, 92,575 individuals, mostly single men and women—but also 8,660 families with children and another 9,700 adults with some measure of disability—received GA benefits. The termination of GA was accompanied by the creation of a new, much smaller program—State Disability Assistance—and the expansion of the existing State Family Assistance program, with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a net budget savings of $240 million.

Beneficiaries were concentrated in economically distressed urban centers and major media markets; Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw together accounted for 45 percent of the statewide total. Almost immediately, welfare-rights advocates erected a tent city festooned with anti-Engler slogans on the grounds of the state Capitol, in full view of the governor's office window. Mr. Engler was vilified in the media by former public assistance clients, welfare-rights advocates, and state-employee unions.

Critics predicted a surge in violent crime, homelessness, and life-threatening privation. As cameras rolled, Reverend Jesse Jackson and mainstream Michigan clergy condemned Governor Engler's termination of GA, suggesting that no benefits or services were available to former GA clients. In fact, an array of state programs still was available to those entitled to them, especially disabled individuals and families with children.

But Governor Engler was resolute: State taxpayers had neither the obligation nor the limitless resources to subsidize perpetually the idleness—and perhaps criminal behavior—of able-bodied single adults. "The best welfare program is a job," the governor advised at every opportunity. He suggested that able-bodied former welfare clients look to churches, civic groups, and families for any needed help.

Heroic Response

Charitable, religious, and civic organizations stepped forward to meet Governor Engler's challenge. True, not all of them did so gladly or quickly, and many blasted him for daring to cast so many welfare recipients adrift. But hundreds of groups mobilized to offer food, shelter, and rehabilitation services.

In the heart of Detroit, the famed Capuchin Soup Kitchen, supported by a blue-chip roster of top Motor-City corporate and political heavyweights, has served hundreds of meals daily. At the Hard Times Cafe in Harrison,

Private organizations across Michigan—from the Salvation Army to local soup kitchens—moved quickly to help the neediest of those unable to find work.

a rural mid-Michigan community, Catholic Family Services has provided meals and counseling to those who had nowhere else to turn. At four Metro Detroit YMCAs, up to 200 down-and-out residents at a time have participated in Project TRY, a job-training, education, and sobriety self-help program. In Grand Rapids, recovering alcoholic Verne Barry has established Faith, Inc., an enterprise to

New Jersey Newsphotos

Governor Engler has led the charge for voluntarism, appearing at events from black-tie dinners to softball exhibitions to raise money for charities.

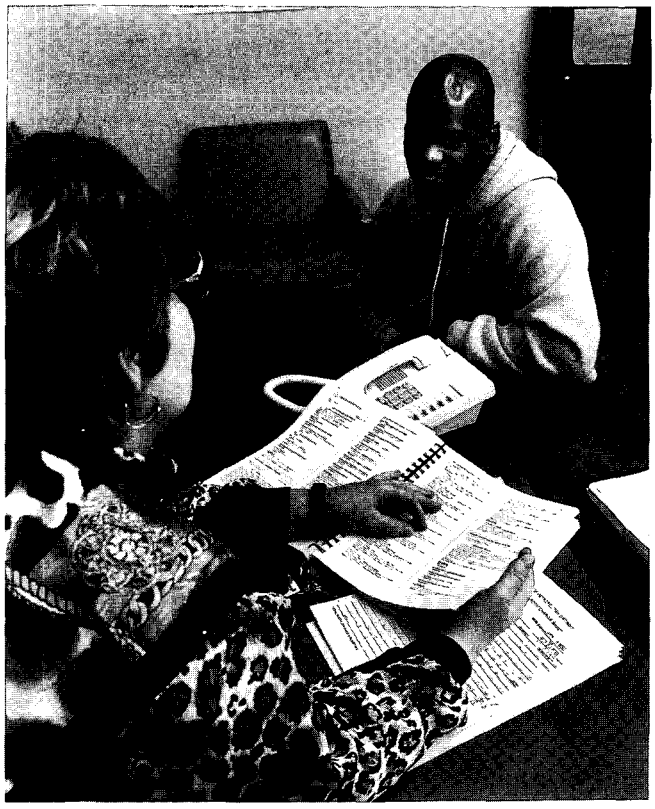
hire and help the homeless take charge of their lives.

Governor Engler himself has led the charge for voluntarism, appearing at events from black-tie dinners to softball exhibitions to raise money for charities. Michelle Engler, the first lady, began coordinating statewide youth volunteers and literacy tutors. With the governor's help, State Agriculture Director Bill Schuette raised $280,000 and 15 tons of food from Michigan food producers, grocers, and other donors through an autumn event called the Michigan Harvest Gathering. This bounty was distributed through Michigan's statewide private food-bank network. Meanwhile, representatives from the state Michigan Employment Security Commission fanned out into shelters and other residential facilities to coach job seekers, as well as to offer immediate placement in part- or full-time jobs.

Hurdles to Implementation

Not all state employees were so helpful. As layoff notices started to go out, many caseworkers in the Department of Social Services bitterly resisted the GA termination. They cursed the governor and told their clients to call legislators and the governor's office to ask for help or to complain, whipping up the anti-Engler fervor. One of the toughest jobs was sorting former GA clients into other programs. Twenty percent were ages 16 to 25, 40 percent 26 to 40, and 40 percent 41 and older. Those older than 45 but either too young or not qualified for Social Security benefits had been on GA for up to 50 straight months—and did not have much acquaintance with the contemporary work world. Many older clients also were beset by either real or imaginary disabilities. This demographic group posed vexing problems. Medical review teams were deployed to check for disabilities and administer physical examinations. Caseworkers channeled some former GA clients into other programs,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Faith, Inc.

In Grand Rapids, Faith, Inc., hires and helps the homeless take charge of their lives.

such as Supplemental Security Income, Family Assistance, or AFDC.

Those for whom there no longer were any public benefits were directed to consider family or private resources, and were given advice about how to begin employment searches. Such triage was imperfect, but approximately 6 percent of former GA recipients received an *increase* in benefits by being shifted to more appropriate assistance.

Many older GA clients also had a continuing need for prescription drugs. With the rapid end to GA, the pharmacy program was interrupted briefly, resulting in the death of a former GA recipient whose supply of blood-pressure medicine had been cut off. This tragedy dogged Governor Engler for several months. "I think the real culprit was the media," said Mark Michaelsen, then Engler's constituent services director. "Journalists falsely gave the impression there were no benefits at all—even for those who were still qualified for them. We did everything we could to help everyone get all the benefits available from public and private sources."

While there was no dramatic increase in Michigan's already high crime rate, there was a temporary rise in homelessness. Many former GA recipients were evicted when they could no longer pay their rent. Homeless shelter populations swelled, testing local private and public resources. One study said 40 percent of former GA clients surveyed in Ingham and Genesee Counties reported being evicted during the year after GA termination. Half of Wayne County recipients reported going without food for a day or more, with a lower percentage in other counties. About one-third of former recipients in Michigan's major cities reported taking some meals at local churches or other centers.

A series of public service advertising spots, urging those seeking shelter to dial a toll-free number, soon began statewide. In Detroit alone, the number of beds in shelters almost tripled, funded partially through a state contract with the Salvation Army to coordinate homeless services. This contract was part of an aggressive strategy by Governor Engler to privatize social services. A June 1993 Mackinac Center study of one of the governor's experiments—the privatization of foster care services—shows that private agencies provide superior services at lower cost than the Department of Social Services.

Closing the Employment Gap

Nearly two years after the termination of GA, many of its former recipients are becoming contributors to the economy, not merely clients of a welfare state. About one-third of former GA clients no longer receive state support of any kind, and in some counties, 40 percent or more are employed.

In the summer months immediately before the end of GA, 21,000 clients dropped off the program voluntarily. These voluntary GA dropouts were not tracked; program experts assume that some found work, some are collecting benefits through other programs, some left the state, and some are on the streets.

Researchers from the University of Michigan School of Social Work, the Wayne State University Social Policy Institute, the Michigan League for Human Services, and the Department of Social Services Planning, Budget, and Evaluation Office continue to watch the 83,000 subsequently terminated GA clients closely. The DSS unit still issues a monthly series of reports on GA "alumni." Almost all use 10 percent or smaller "snapshot" surveys to make generalizations about the entire population. The conclusions drawn from each vary, but all offer some insights into the results of Michigan welfare reform.

By April 1993, 34 percent of all terminated GA clients were employed at some point during the year, at least part-time.

Of former GA clients no longer receiving any state benefits, the Wayne State University study estimated 16.5 percent were working an average of 27 hours per week at wage rates averaging $4.40 by April 1992. In Detroit's Wayne County and Flint's Genesee County, the percentages gainfully employed still were in single digits. All other Michigan counties and regions studied were above the state average, with employment rates of 37.7 percent in the Upper Peninsula's Marquette.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Michigan Department of Social Services has evaluated earnings and employability somewhat differently, providing more focus on results by age group of former GA recipients, regardless of whether they are still partial beneficiaries. By April 1993, DSS said 34 percent of all terminated GA clients were employed at some point during the year, at least part-time. Of those under age 20, 55 percent had jobs and had earned an average of $2,200, and the highest average income was earned by those ages 50 to 59, at $4,200. Like the Wayne State study, the DSS evaluations suggest below-average results in Wayne County—thanks to Detroit's high taxes and low growth rate—and above-average results in all other areas studied.

It is important to note that, alongside these breakthroughs in employment patterns, the majority of former GA recipients has returned to other forms of public assistance, collecting such benefits as basic medical care, food stamps, or both from the state, if no longer any cash grant. Many analysts suggest that further welfare reform is still needed in Michigan.

After a brief fall in caseloads immediately after the termination of GA, the proportion of Michigan's population on public assistance actually rose from 12.9 percent (1,004,000) in December 1991 to 13.5 percent (1,044,000) in May 1993. Although much of this increase was mandated by the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Zebley* v. *Sullivan*—which added thousands of children to SSI rolls in every state—there still seems to be too much reliance on other forms of state aid.

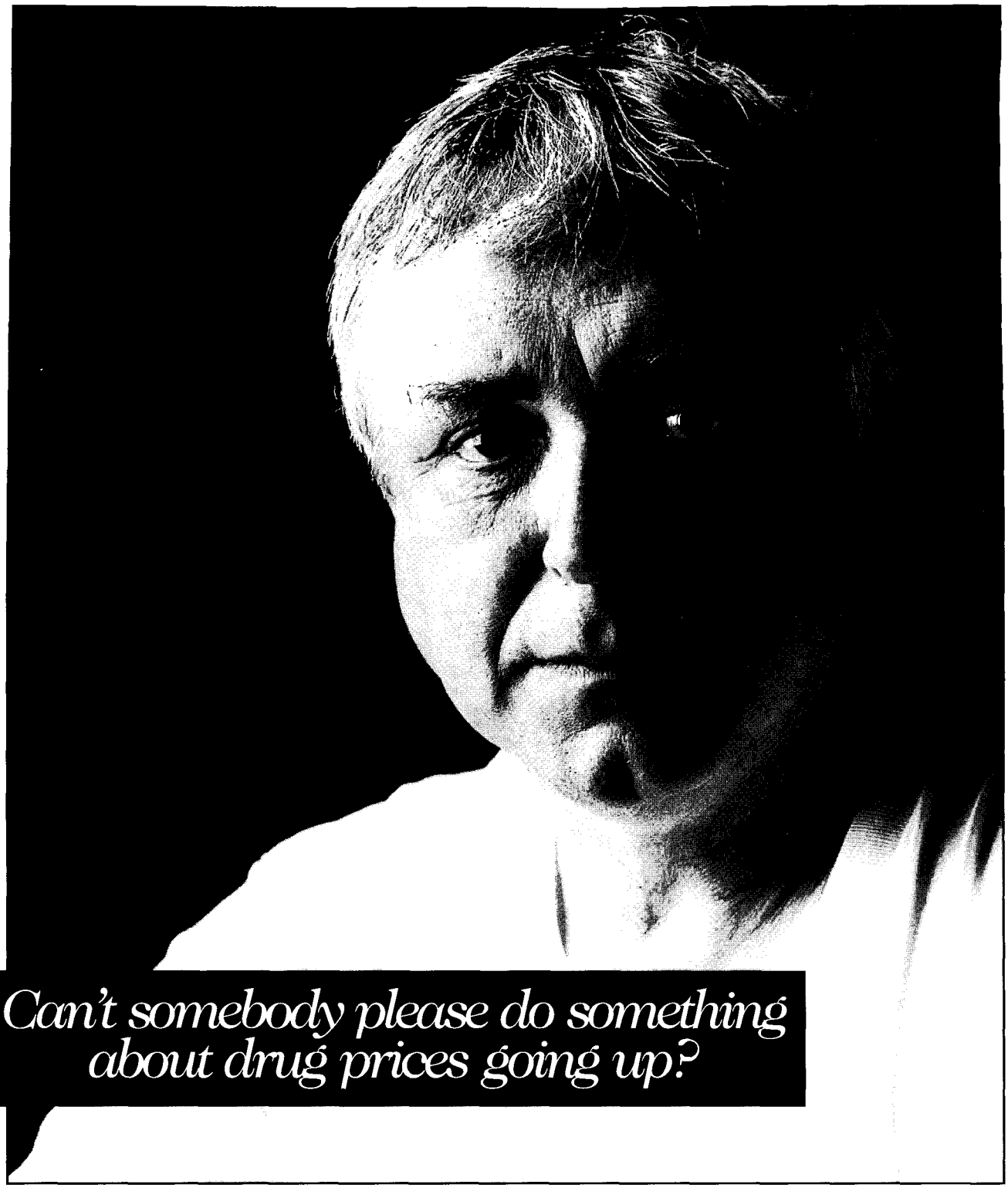
Michigan's experience presents one of the best examples of how the private sector can provide services to help people in need.

Larry Peplin/Project TRY

Up to 200 down-and-out residents at a time have participated in Project TRY, a job-training, education, and sobriety self-help program.

Even so, among state welfare-reform experiments, Michigan's experience presents one of the best national examples of how the generosity and talents of the private sector can provide comprehensive services to help people in need; how restructuring state programs can prompt public assistance clients to seek employment and better educational skills; and how maximizing the leverage of budget resources from Washington through federal regulatory waivers can reduce state budget outlays. In the 50 state capitals comprising the nation's laboratories of democracies, welfare reform continues.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Can't somebody please do something about drug prices going up?

We have. We've proposed a program under which companies can agree to voluntarily limit average price increases to no more than inflation. What's more, we'd provide for government monitoring of our performance. For more information on this, and other measures we support to make healthcare accessible to all Americans, call the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association at 1-800-538-2692.

A SOLUTION FROM AMERICA'S PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH COMPANIES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1983

Awakening from Orwell's Nightmare

ANDREW E. BUSCH AND ELIZABETH EDWARDS SPALDING

This year marks the 10th anniversary of the beginning of the end of the Cold War. Although it was difficult to foresee at the time, a series of events in 1983 would come together to stop the seemingly inexorable advance of Soviet totalitarianism and to lay the groundwork for the eventual triumph of the West.

These events were neither inevitable nor self-executing. They depended upon the decisions of men, and of one man in particular—Ronald Reagan—who understood the meaning of this century, the nature of the Cold War, and the set of circumstances that he and his country faced. In 1983, the elements of President Reagan's strategy joined for the first time, making possible the successes that wrought the changes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and culminated in the 1991 implosion of the Soviet regime and the rest of its empire.

The Evil Empire Speech

The central theme of President Reagan's foreign policy was the ethical distinction he continually made between the West and the Soviet bloc. At his first press conference as president, Mr. Reagan bluntly referred to the nature of Leninist "morality," correctly telling a contemptuous press corps that Soviet leaders "reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat," in order to achieve their objective of world communism. In a famous speech before the British Parliament in June 1982, the president called for a "crusade for freedom," and he predicted that it would be communism, not freedom, that would end up on the "ash-heap of history."

But President Reagan's most important Cold War speech was his March 1983 address to religious broadcasters in which he called the Soviet Union an "evil empire":

> Let us be aware that while they [the Soviet regime] preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination over all people on the earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.... I urge you to beware the temptation of pride—the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and labelling both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

Mr. Reagan underscored the message that no longer would the United States remain silent about the true nature of the Soviet regime. Apprehending the importance of ideas and the danger of truth far better than Mr. Reagan's critics did, the Kremlin construed the evil empire speech as an act of political aggression.

Many people understood from the beginning that Mr. Reagan was right. What since has become clear, however, is the effect that his pronouncement had on those who lived in that empire. Among others, Lech Walesa later maintained that the evil empire speech was an epochal event in the long struggle of Eastern Europe to be free; even former Soviet officials since have acknowledged that the speech, in the words of Reagan biographer Edmund Morris, helped "the motherland realize ... it was indeed evil." President Reagan's ultimate vindication came when the foreign minister of the Russian Federation, Andrei Kozyrev, added his concurrence: The Soviet Union, Mr. Kozyrev said in 1992, had been an "evil empire."

The legitimacy of this rhetorical counteroffensive was reinforced in September 1983 when the Soviets under Yuri Andropov shot down a Korean Airlines passenger jet, KAL 007, demonstrating with appalling clarity the accuracy of President Reagan's March charge. The incident not only gave momentum to Mr. Reagan's exposure of the nature of the Soviet regime; it also shut down a nascent movement within the administration for a more accommodationist stance toward the Kremlin.

The year 1983 also was significant for the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) deployments in Western Europe. In November 1981, President Reagan reaffirmed

ANDREW E. BUSCH *and* ELIZABETH EDWARDS SPALDING *are 1993 Salvatori fellows at The Heritage Foundation.* MR. BUSCH *is assistant professor of political science at the University of Denver.* MRS. SPALDING *is a doctoral candidate in the department of government and foreign affairs at the University of Virginia.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

The allies concurred with President Reagan that negotiations could come only after the establishment of Western strength.

the 1979 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) dual-track decision, then championed by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, to deploy missiles and to negotiate for arms control. With the Soviets more aggressive than ever as they deployed one SS-20 a week, President Reagan sought to strengthen the West through the deployment of 108 Pershing II and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles, scheduled to begin in November 1983. To do so, he had to overcome one of the most powerful Soviet propaganda offensives in the entire Cold War.

Peace Movements

As the Soviets had attempted to stymie NATO's founding and the Western alliance in the late 1940s through subversion, aggression, and totalitarian propaganda, so too, they tried to shape a situation favorable to Kremlin hegemony in the superpower nuclear age. It was all part of the same Cold War. The key to success, the Kremlin knew, lay in dividing and sapping NATO of its unity and meaning. The Soviets hoped, at a minimum, that opposition to the Pershings and cruise missiles would become a substantial lever to crack the Atlantic alliance. To this end, they sponsored and inspired large portions of the nuclear freeze movement in Europe.

Six European countries had scheduled elections for 1983—Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, Norway, and the Netherlands—and in each of these countries, the leading liberal-left party had been captured by the peace movement and was opposing INF deployment. Had voters in these countries turned against deployment, the NATO alliance probably would have collapsed at its greatest moment of peril.

Because of the resolution of key statesmen, the parties that stood for military preparedness all won in 1983. Helmut Kohl and the Christian Democrats won the West German elections in March, defeating a Social Democratic Party that had drifted to the left. Margaret Thatcher, who did so much to draw together NATO allies at the Williamsburg summit of late 1982, was overwhelmingly re-elected in Britain in June. Pro-deployment parties also won 1983 elections in Italy, Belgium, Norway, and the Netherlands. France did not have an election that year, but President Francois Mitterand, though a Socialist, stood strong in his support of Mr. Reagan and deployment, and against Soviet domination of the continent.

Euromissile deployment proceeded on schedule, and, more important, the Atlantic alliance held strong. Late 1983 into 1984 was a period of NATO cohesion unprecedented since the collective defense organization's founding. NATO allies saw through the Kremlin tactics aimed at straining Western unity in November 1983, when the Soviets walked out of the START talks in Geneva. The allies concurred with President Reagan that negotiations could come only after the establishment of Western strength and acknowledgment of that strength by the Soviet Union. As Mrs. Thatcher noted that Reagan "strengthened not only America's defenses, but also the will of America's allies."

The SDI Wild Card

President Reagan's revolution is strategic defense also came in 1983. His March 23 speech challenged the very nature of modern warfare. It dazed the Soviets and helped to break the back of the nuclear freeze movement. Mr. Reagan rejected the logic of mutually assured destruction (MAD) and flexible response, which left civilian populations totally vulnerable to nuclear destruction. He announced the goal of making nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." As the president said, "What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?"

With this March 1983 speech, President Reagan finished putting forth his vision to transform radically the global strategic situation and the nature of defense. Mr. Reagan showed that the West had the political courage and know-how to fight and win what Soviet thinkers commonly called the scientific-technical revolution in military affairs. The Kremlin referred over and over to American militarization of space. Soviet leaders Konstantin Chernenko and especially Mikhail Gorbachev attempted vigorously to derail SDI. Mr. Gorbachev and his Foreign Ministers Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Bessmertnykh now have conceded the importance of SDI in driving change in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s. President Reagan had begun to move the West beyond containment with the promise of propelling the world beyond communism and Cold War.

Turning the Tide in El Salvador

As Ronald Reagan pursued a two-track strategy in Europe and on defense policy—one track securing the base of the Western alliance and restoring our deterrent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

President Reagan demolished the Newspeak of detente when he called the Soviet Union an "evil empire."

capacity, the other track seizing the initiative with SDI—he also constructed a two-tiered policy in the Third World. First, President Reagan sought to brace American friends and prevent further Soviet penetration. Second, he began to pursue the offensive against many of the Kremlin clients that had taken power in the 1970s: Cambodia, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Grenada, and Nicaragua. No other year was as pivotal to the president's strategy as was 1983.

It is easy to forget that, throughout 1982 and 1983, a serious question existed as to whether the United States would be able to ensure the survival of a fledgling democracy in El Salvador. When the communists launched a major offensive in late 1983 that scored several important victories, the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) was at its peak, leading *Newsweek* to hypothesize that the Salvadoran army might collapse before Christmas. There can be little doubt that failure in El Salvador would have worsened prospects for democracy in Guatemala and Honduras, if not prompted their fall. In that event, Mexico would have been the next likely target.

Yet, while the war in El Salvador remained a stalemate, the first signs appeared that U.S. aid was slowing the FMLN in the field. Through American encouragement, El Salvador's government amended itself: death-squad killings declined rapidly, and a crucial shakeup occurred in the Salvadoran high command in November 1983. All told, 1983 was the last year that the survival of the incipient Salvadoran democracy was in immediate doubt.

Although the issue had surfaced in 1982, vigorous debate over aid to the Nicaraguan resistance exploded in the summer of 1983. The aid battle and the Contras' fortunes see-sawed throughout the 1980s, but 1983 was the first year the United States concentrated significant political attention on the Nicaraguan resistance. It was in 1983 that the Reagan administration, for the first time, frankly made the case for aid. Turning back attempts in Congress to end existing funding for the Contras, the administration also proposed expanding Contra troop strength to 15,000. The Nicaraguan resistance already had reached 12,000 men under arms, higher than any other guerrilla army in Latin America, and the Contras grew bolder.

The Reagan Doctrine Defined

A turning point had been reached in policy toward Nicaragua and, more generally, in policy toward Soviet Third-World clients: "covert" aid to resistance forces increasingly would be covert in name only. While the successes in El Salvador were crucial, they came within the framework of traditional containment policy. At the same time, a much more proactive policy in the Third World began to take shape in Nicaragua—what became known as the Reagan Doctrine. The Reagan administration had staked out a position putting the U.S. on the side of anti-communist forces not only materially but also morally, and it had given notice to the Soviets that the Brezhnev Doctrine was not an acceptable point of departure for superpower relations. In addition, aid to the Nicaraguan resistance was linked with aid to El Salvador as two sides—offensive and defensive—of a coherent policy.

Just how correct President Reagan was about communist designs for the region became clear later. Contra pressure helped force the Sandinistas to hold elections in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Archive Photos

October 24, 1983, the day before the American liberation of Grenada, was the high-water mark of the Soviet empire.

February 1990; shortly after they were ousted, the FMLN sued for peace. This linkage further was dramatized last May when a cache of arms and documents that proved continuing ties between the Sandinistas and communist guerrillas in El Salvador and elsewhere was discovered outside Managua.

Grenada: Puncturing Brezhnev

The most dramatic and abrupt reversal of the Soviet design throughout the eight years of the Reagan presidency came on October 25, 1983, when U.S. airborne troops and Marines landed on the island of Grenada. This small island country 100 miles off the coast of Venezuela had fallen into the Soviet orbit in March 1979, after Maurice Bishop, a Marxist lawyer, and his "New Jewel Movement" seized power in a *coup d'état.* For the next four-and-a-half years, Grenada moved closer to serving as a base for Kremlin ambitions and power projection in the Caribbean, a threat that President Reagan had identified and warned of in his March SDI speech.

When Mr. Bishop was overthrown and executed in mid-October by even more hard-line communist elements of the New Jewel Movement, Grenada's small island neighbors, in the form of the Organization of East Caribbean States, invited U.S. intervention. President Reagan ordered the invasion to proceed on October 25. When the operation ended a few days later, 75 percent of the American people and 90 percent of the Grenadian people polled had supported the action.

The American invasion of Grenada was the first major use of force by the United States since the Vietnam War, and it was the first time that U.S. troops had been used to liberate a communist country. Vast stockpiles of Soviet weapons and a collection of damning documents were discovered, American students were evacuated successfully, Cuban forces were defeated in battle, and the Brezhnev Doctrine was punctured. For the first time in recent memory, the United States was on the offensive for freedom, both substantively and directly.

Grenada was a tiny island with a tiny population of 85,000, but its significance was huge. Historians should record that October 24, 1983, represented the high-water mark of the Soviet empire. Never again would the communists in the Kremlin control as much territory or wield as much influence as they did on the day before Army Rangers landed at Point Salines. At the end of 1983, the Soviet Third-World strategy was thwarted in key respects, and important American allies had been reinvigorated.

Shock Waves of the Economic Rebound

Finally, victory against the Soviet Union in the Cold War was undergirded by the remarkable recovery of the U.S. economy from the stagflation of the late 1970s and early 1980s. In January 1983, the United States began a 93-month period of sustained, noninflationary economic growth. By the time the expansion ended in the summer of 1990 during the Bush administration, the Berlin Wall no longer existed.

This economic expansion had three important effects. First, it ensured the 1984 re-election of Ronald Reagan and the continuation of the policies that were instrumental to victory in the primary theater of the Cold War. Second, it guaranteed the economic resources necessary to pursue these policies and, more generally, to maintain a strong American presence in the world. Lastly, the ability of the United States to pull itself out of its economic doldrums had a momentous impact on the Soviets' faith in their Marxist beliefs. America's economic growth disproved the "inevitability" of the collapse of capitalism, which the Soviets had thought to be at hand. Indeed, the recovery led to a serious re-appraisal of economic collectivism throughout the West and the Third World, inducing many socialist governments to introduce capitalist reforms.

The Vulnerable Empire

Ronald Reagan entered office determined to turn around the Cold War and complete the policy of containment. In both theory and practice, President Reagan grasped that the Soviet Union was at a crisis point in the early 1980s, and he saw clearly the central contradiction within Kremlin policy that made the Soviet empire vulnerable: it was bankrupt economically, yet was engaging in renewed heights of external aggression. By 1980, still on a perpetual wartime footing because of their ideology, the Soviets invested more than two to three times what the United States did on military spending. Mr. Reagan aimed to push this Soviet paradox of internal decay and outward expansion, all the while reminding the world of the tyrannical nature of the Soviet regime. In this task he succeeded. Although their economy continued to falter and their military spending consumed over 25 percent of GNP by 1987, the Soviets under Mikhail Gorbachev still attempted to accelerate world communism and emulate the arms and military capacity of the West. But within the next four years, the Kremlin lost its empire, and its domestic and foreign policies collapsed.

Certainly there were important points in shifting the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cold War prior to 1983: the growth of the consensus in favor of increased defense spending in the late 1970s; the throttling of SALT II; the catalytic impact of Iran and Afghanistan; and the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. The president understood the import of these factors, conveyed them to the American people, and incorporated them into his policies. While victory against the Soviets was nearer after 1983, its outline was not visible for several years. In contrast to most of the media and foreign policy experts, President Reagan knew that the triumphs of 1983 should not be translated into conciliation and compromise as the political theme of 1984.

The Beginning of the End

In sum, then, 1983 was *the* crucial year. It was the year that America conclusively demonstrated it was not in decline, as had seemed the trend at any point from 1968 on, but vigorously would defend itself and carry the fight to the Soviets. The ideological counterattack reached full voice, NATO was saved, nuclear deterrence was protected successfully from the assault of the nuclear freeze movement, the strategic defense initiative was launched, El Salvador and with it containment in Central America survived the worst that could be thrown against it, the groundwork was laid for the Reagan Doctrine, the Brezhnev Doctrine was disassembled in Grenada, and an economic expansion began that reaffirmed American prosperity for the rest of the decade. In many respects, the "Vietnam syndrome" that had prevented American vigor for a decade was dismantled, not in the Persian Gulf War of 1991, but in 1983.

In 1983, the elements of President Reagan's strategy joined for the first time, making possible the successes that wrought the changes in Eastern Europe in 1989.

These factors, including SDI, Euromissile deployment, and elements of the rhetorical counteroffensive, created what Mr. Shevardnadze later referred to as a "Gordian knot" for the Soviet leadership, which found itself at times "sinking into despair over the impasse" that ultimately would lead to a radically new policy direction. Genrikh Trofimenko, who was head of the Department for the Study of the U.S. Foreign Policy at the former Soviet Institute of the USA and Canada, similarly remarked that Mr. Reagan's strategy, and the effect it had on the Soviet regime, convinced "99 percent of all Russians that Reagan won the Cold War."

None of President Reagan's grand strategy that began to coalesce in 1983 was inevitable; in fact, every element of it was bitterly opposed and ridiculed by powerful segments of American and Western political, cultural, and intellectual opinion. And even those who believed in the policies could not know the outcome. Only the steadfast political wisdom, confidence, and determination of Ronald Reagan—and the common sense of the American citizenry—insured that America held firm. A president must join prudence and courage in the service of right principles, and he must be led by the soul of his people while being willing and able to lead their minds.

As 1980 denotes a watershed in domestic politics, 1983 is the counterpart in world politics. The year 1983—a year of extraordinary importance to the ongoing triumph of human freedom in the protracted conflict against communist totalitarianism—stands out as more than a historical marker. It is an anniversary worth noting not only for its own sake but also for the lessons it offers: history is made by human beings making choices, and in a battle for the survival of great and good principles, simply being right is not enough. Fortune favors the brave.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Did You Know?

RJR

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco International, Inc.

Tobacco and Tobacco Products Exported Annually from the United States:

- Contribute nearly $5 Billion to the U.S. trade balance;
- Generate more than 265,000 jobs for Americans;
- Produce nearly $2 Billion in tax revenues.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Failing Grade for Federal Aid

Is It Time to Close the Book on Chapter 1?

Brian Jendryka

If Chapter 1 were a business, it would be in Chapter 11. Over the last 28 years, the federally funded compensatory education program has spent $135 billion (in constant 1992-93 dollars) to boost the academic skills of disadvantaged children, with little to show for it. The only longitudinal study ever done on the program—tracking annual test scores for Chapter 1 students—found that student achievement is deteriorating, not improving.

A study published earlier this year by the Department of Education called *Reinventing Chapter 1*, found that the achievement level of Chapter 1 students has fallen for all groups tested except seventh-grade reading. With 70 percent of the program's students in the elementary grades, the results of Chapter 1 elementary school students are particularly disappointing. From the third grade to the fourth grade, the achievement level of the average Chapter 1 student fell from 26th percentile to the 23rd percentile in reading. In math, scores dropped from the 27th percentile to the 24th.

In a recent article in *U.S. World and News Report*, Mary Jean LeTendre, director of Compensatory Education for the Department of Education, conceded the program's failure to produce results, saying that if Chapter 1's performance were displayed on a heart monitor, "We'd either pull the plug or get out the clappers."

Despite these shortcomings, Chapter 1 is a politically sacrosanct program. The most recent reauthorization in 1988 passed with only one dissenting vote in both the House (401-1) and the Senate (97-1). Until this reauthorization—after 23 years and $100 billion—there was no mechanism required to monitor the program's performance. And even with the damning results of the Department of Education study, politicians and the media have largely ignored the program. Moreover, it gets a mere three sentences in the 1,600-page 1993 Federal Budget, despite being the largest line-item in the Department of Education's budget, accounting for 20 percent of its spending every year. In 1993, Chapter 1 received nearly $7 billion, more than twice the amount of Head Start.

Yale professor and Head Start co-founder Edward Zigler has been one of the few in the education field to publicize Chapter 1's lack of success. In a recent *Business Week* article, Mr. Zigler wrote, "While there is not much data on the effectiveness of Chapter 1, policymakers have ignored the results that do exist, namely that participating students do not exhibit meaningful improvements in achievement levels."

The two major evaluations of the program have been sharply critical. The Commission on Chapter 1, funded by the Edna McConnell Clark and John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur foundations, produced a study that criticized: "a continued focus on remediation ... methods for evaluating that are antiquated (and downright harmful)"; and "a perverse incentive structure that discourages schools from working to improve student performance."

The *Reinventing Chapter 1* review panel joined Mr. Zigler in criticizing the program's sad legacy of complacency and ineffectiveness. "The highest de facto aim of the Chapter 1 program is to achieve low-level basic skills, [but] the program is considered a success if children do not fall further behind."

Thus, not only has Chapter 1 done little to improve student achievement, in some cases it may even be preventing disadvantaged students from catching up.

Great (Society) Expectations

The program began in 1965, when Congress created "Title I—Better Schooling for Educationally Deprived Children" as a part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The program was formed as a part of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, and was established to help disadvantaged school-age children catch up with their peers.

To receive Chapter 1 services, a child must be disadvantaged both financially (usually defined by receiving free or reduced-price lunch) and educationally, defined in the statute as "children whose educational attainment is below the level that is usually appropriate for children of their age." Re-named Chapter 1 in its 1981 re-authorization, the program has been renewed five times, most recently in a five-year, $26-billion re-authorization that expires this year.

In 1992-1993, Chapter 1 served 5.5 million children, or approximately one in nine school-age children, about

Brian Jendryka *is assistant editor of* Policy Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

half of those eligible. Chapter 1 services are currently used in approximately half of the nation's 100,000 public schools. The majority of services are provided to elementary schools: 71 percent of public elementary schools use Chapter 1 services, compared to only 30 percent of high schools. Chapter 1 can also be found in 42 percent of Roman Catholic schools, 6 percent of other religious schools, and 13 percent of private secular schools.

If Chapter 1's performance were displayed on a heart monitor, "We'd either pull the plug or get out the clappers."
—Mary Jean LeTendre

Not surprisingly, most educators defend Chapter 1 as a successful program—at least in part. According to Ms. LeTendre, Chapter 1 has helped make kindergartens universal, initiated parent involvement, equalized resources across school districts, and brought the issue of disadvantaged children to the fore in America. Likewise, the Commission on Chapter 1 credits the program with helping poor and minority children gain academic ground: "In the 1960s, such children dropped out at alarming rates; most didn't even master very basic skills. Today, virtually all poor and minority children master rudimentary skills and graduation rates have increased dramatically for all but Latino students."

Misleading Evidence

When lauding Chapter 1's successes, educators often point to increased test scores, especially the results of the National Assessment of Educational Progress. For fourth-grade reading among blacks, test scores have increased from 170 in 1971 (the first year of testing) to 182 in 1990, while scores for white students only gained three points (from 214 to 217) over the same period. Test scores for Hispanic students have also improved, from 183 in 1975 (the first year Hispanics were tested as a group), to 189 in 1990. Reading achievement in disadvantaged urban areas has risen from 179 in 1971 to 186 in 1990, while achievement in advantaged urban areas has fallen from 230 to 227 over the same time period.

Attributing success to Chapter 1 because of improvements in these test scores is misleading, however. Obviously, some of the improvement in test scores has come from students not in Chapter 1 programs. The improvement in black achievement scores over the past 20 years is due to many factors beside Chapter 1, among them the much more serious attention southern states have devoted to rural education. Likewise, if Chapter 1 is to be credited for these NAEP score increases in reading over the last 20 years, it must also be blamed for the fall in these same scores for blacks, Hispanics, and disadvantaged urban students; all of these groups' scores have declined steadily since 1980.

Perhaps a more accurate gauge of Chapter 1 performance is proficiency level by percentile, which judges performance based on a student's relative academic standing. Scores for the bottom 5, 10 and 25 percent of students—students most likely to receive Chapter 1 services—have remained the same or fallen from 1971 to 1990. And despite Chapter 1, the average score of the lowest 25 percent of students is still below the level considered "basic" by NAEP.

The only testing done specifically on Chapter 1 students (besides the negative results of the *Reinventing Chapter 1* study) has been a pre-test and post-test evaluation by the Department of Education. The results—called "positive but modest," by Carlos Martinez, a Compensatory Education Program Specialist—are often cited as evidence for the success of Chapter 1. However, what the results really indicate is that the students tested (from grades 2-12) make short-term gains during the school year, but show no sign of this improvement the next Fall. In 1990-91, for example, students at every grade level gained at least three percentage points during the school year. But the average standing of these students falls from the 26th percentile in second grade to the 19th percentile in 12th grade, and never shows a single year-to-year gain along the way—even though they are supposedly "gaining" from three to eight percentage points every year.

These modest, temporary improvements are likely the result of "teaching to the test," according to Mr. Martinez. Because Chapter 1 programs must now show improvement to keep their funding—most often measured by test results—many teachers try to teach to the test, which raises scores in the short run, but does nothing to increase achievement in the long run. "[Teaching to the test] is a major plague of our program," says Carlos Martinez. "It has deteriorated the quality of the structure of Chapter 1. There are a lot of instructors who try to beat the test."

Rather than experiencing the joy of wrestling with ideas, these children are more likely to spend their time circling m's and q's on dittos.
—Commission on Chapter 1

Overall student achievement has not fared much better. In 1965–66, the year Chapter 1 began, the graduation rate (based on four–year tracking from ninth to twelfth grade) for U.S. high school students was 76.3 percent. By 1990–91, the rate had fallen to 71.2 percent, the lowest rate of the 25–year span.

Compared on an international scale, the story is equally grim for America's disadvantaged kids. On the 1991 International Assessment of Educational Progress

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(IAEP), American nine-year-olds averaged only 58.4 percent correct, below students of Korea, Taiwan, the former Soviet Union, Spain and Canada. The lowest 10 percent—the heart of the Chapter 1 audience—averaged only 29.5 percent correct, compared with 50.8 percent for Korea's lowest 10 percent. In other words, Korea's lowest 10 percent of students scored only 8.4 percentage points worse than America's *average* student.

Set Up to Fail

The most glaring problem with Chapter 1 is its perverse incentive structure. The allocation of Chapter 1 money is based on failure, not success: The Chapter 1 money a school district receives is based on the number of educationally disadvantaged children in a district. If test scores rise slightly, kids may no longer be counted as educationally disadvantaged, and the school will lose the program money.

The Commission on Chapter 1 describes this problem as one of the most critical deficiencies of the program, "a perverse incentive structure that discourages students from working hard to improve student performance." It is also cited in *Reinventing Chapter 1*: "By prescribing the allocation of funds according to the number and needs of children to be served, the law establishes a perverse incentive: as achievement rises, funding decreases."

"If teachers are too successful, they won't have a class," says Ted Martland, former Assistant Superintendent of schools in Waterbury, Connecticut. "There is a financial incentive to have lots of low-achieving kids."

Some changes in the 1988 re-authorization were made to address these problems—a two-year extension of the program for certain successful students—but the basic backwards incentive structure remains.

Ms. LeTendre admits to the flaw in the program: "I think it's overstated, but yes, it can reward failure. If you do well, if your scores improve and you've got fewer kids below the 50th percentile, then the school loses money. To that extent, there is a perverse incentive."

Prior to 1988, the main direction given to schools receiving Chapter 1 money was that the money should "supplement, not supplant" other sources of funding. As a result, money was concentrated on pullout services, wherein a child is pulled out of a regular class to receive Chapter 1 instruction.

According to Chester Finn, former assistant secretary for educational research and improvement at the Department of Education, pullout services became popular because they leave an "audit trail" for auditors to follow. This way, it can be easily shown that Chapter 1 money is being spent on Chapter 1 education. Unfortunately, pullout programs have not been very successful. "That turned out to be not only an auditors nightmare, but also educationally unsound," says Mr. Finn. "It's a classic example of accountants' anxiety leading to educational debacle."

According to *Reinventing Chapter 1*, although instruction is generally offered for 30 minutes a day, five days a week, on average, it contributes "only about 10 additional minutes of academic instruction each day." The pullout method is largely responsible for this discrepancy. Because pullout services are administered during the school day instead of after school or during the summer, Chapter 1 students must miss regular class time to get their "supplemental" education. According to *Reinventing Chapter 1*, 70 percent of teachers report that students miss basic reading/language arts instruction during pullout; in mathematics, 67 percent miss basic instruction. "When you pull kids out, you're not adding much because they're always missing something," says Ms. LeTendre. "This is supposed to be a supplement, but it's a legal supplant." Thus, Chapter 1 students must not only try to catch up to with their peers, but also somehow make up the work they are missing while they are "catching up."

AP/Wide World Photos

After–school or summer–school Chapter 1 programs are unpopular because it is easier to control students during the school day.

It's a cycle that, though intuitively unproductive, is still the norm for Chapter 1 programs. In the 1985-86 school year, 84 percent of elementary schools used the pullout method as at least part of their Chapter 1 services. By 1992, that figure had dropped slightly, but was still a relatively high 74 percent. After–school or summer-school programs are less popular, according to Ms. LeTendre, because it's easier to hire teachers for a traditional work day and it is easier to control students during the school day.

Lowering Their Sights

To make matters worse, much of the information taught during pullout sessions is taught by inadequately educated aides. Of the 60,000–plus aides in the Chapter 1 program, over 80 percent (almost 50,000) have only a high school diploma. Aides are often used because much of the material being taught during these pullout sessions is of a very remedial nature—and, according to many experts, has very limited value. Ms. LeTendre feels that these aides are inappropriate instructors for Chapter 1 kids. "If you were to suggest to parents of gifted and talented kids that their kids would be taught by aides with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only a high school diploma, that would simply not be acceptable. And yet we're asking these aides to teach the kids in the greatest need."

Largely through these pullout programs of 25 to 30 minutes per day, children in Chapter 1 "learn and relearn discrete low–level skills," according to the Commission on Chapter 1. These children "rarely know what it is like to attempt [to learn] interesting content or to use knowledge creatively. Rather than experiencing the joy of wrestling with ideas, these children are more likely to spend their time circling m's and p's on dittos."

Ms. LeTendre feels that these expectations and methods need to change. "Our expectation now is that kids need to do more. What we've learned is that learning is not necessarily in a building-block form. We can teach disadvantaged kids advanced skills." But it doesn't happen often enough: "Too frequently we have lower expectations for these kids," she says.

The low expectations of Chapter 1 kids has been the focus of criticism by many Chapter 1 evaluations. The Commission on Chapter 1 makes this point quoting the Chairman of the National Commission on Excellence in Education: "We expected less of our young people, and they gave it to us."

Chapter 1 students must not only try to catch up with their peers, but also make up the work they are missing when they are "catching up."

As a part of the 1988 re-authorization, more emphasis was to be placed on teaching kids higher-level skills. Until 1988, rote drilling of remedial skills was the norm. So not only were Chapter 1 student missing out on the regular classroom material that they needed to keep pace with their peers, they were missing it to perform simple tasks. The amendment aimed to change that, saying that the expectations of Chapter 1 students should not "differ substantially from those expected for other students of the same age or at the same grade level." Despite all this, the Commission's report, released in December 1992, found a continued emphasis on remediation that "denies the richness of learning to those who need more, not less, of what makes education engaging and exciting."

Lowering standards for Chapter 1 students is part of what keeps them from realizing their potential, according to Waterbury's Mr. Martland. "You are playing catch up (with these kids) and they're not catching up. If a normal child gains 100 in a year, we're happy if a Chapter 1 kid gains 60 or 70. They're never going to catch-up that way. The student is institutionally back after a year."

Problems with Testing

Because Chapter 1 students do poorly on standardized tests, many educators feel that such testing is not a good way to monitor the success of a program. As a result, few states set high goals for such tests. Thirty–six of the 40 states listing Normal Curve Equivalents (NCE) goals listed a goal of just one NCE gain. NCEs are derived from national percentile rankings and are commonly used to measure year-to-year student progress.

However, according to University of Arizona professor Stanley Pogrow, developer of High Order Thinking Skills (HOTS), one NCE gain is within the error of the testing. "That's like saying a baseball player who has a bad season will have improved if he gets one more hit next season." A more substantial goal worth aiming for, he says, would be a gain of at least four NCEs. If such a goal were the standard by which current Chapter 1 programs were measured, says Pogrow, at least three-fourths of the programs would come up short. "Then you'd have real accountability standards. Then you'd be talking about the kids and not the tests."

The Commission on Chapter 1 attributes the low test scores to low expectations of educationally disadvantaged students. "That minority and low–income children often perform poorly on tests is well known. But the fact that they do so because we systematically—and willfully—expect less from them is not."

Outdated Methods

According to Mr. Pogrow and other advocates of higher-order learning, the reason Chapter 1 does so poorly beyond the third grade is that it concentrates its efforts on rote, remedial learning after these systems are no longer effective. "Virtually no knowledge has been generated on what these learning problems (of Chapter 1 students) are...which is pretty amazing, considering how much money we've been spending."

After grade three, children have different learning problems, but teachers are using the same methods. "The more you keep rote drilling, the more you're probably hurting those kids," Mr. Pogrow says. "One reason that Chapter 1 has done so poorly is that to improve, they're looking at what doesn't work and saying 'lets just do that better.'" Ms. LeTendre concedes that this is a problem, one which is largely due to the failure to switch from remedial to more advanced teaching. "We have to do more critical thinking. We get them up to a functioning level at the third grade, and beyond that we abandon them in terms of teaching them higher thinking skills."

Another reason that Chapter 1 isn't performing as well as it could is that it tries to help some kids that can't be helped by traditional educational means. "The problem is that the way the law is written, you have to serve those who need it most," says Mr. Pogrow. Unfortunately, he says, many of the kids who need it most—the kids who do the worst on tests—are educationally medically handicapped (EMH) or dyslexic. These kids need altogether different types of services that should be outside the realm of Chapter 1. Mr. Pogrow estimates that between these two groups, 25 percent of Chapter 1 kids should be in programs other than Chapter 1 to get help. The remaining 75 percent are children with metacognition deficits, who are the kids that Chapter 1 was intended to help.

"You're taking Chapter 1 and saying you have to service

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

three types of major learning deficits," says Mr. Pogrow. But Chapter 1 was never intended for two of these groups (kids with EMH or dyslexia). "Borderline EMHs should be sent to EMH programs, and there should be a special program for dyslexics," Mr. Pogrow says. "There's no way I can imagine the type of teacher who can deal with a, b, and c in the same group."

As ineffective as most pullout programs are, some schools must use them if they want to receive Chapter 1 services. As a result of the 1985 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Aguilar* v. *Felton,* religious private schools are not allowed to receive Chapter 1 services on site. If they want to take advantage of Chapter 1 resources, their students must do so off-campus. Until the *Aguilar* ruling, Chapter 1 services were often conducted by a public school employee on the religious school's property. As a result of the ruling, services must now be conducted by a public employee on a public or neutral site—often an inefficient system in which fewer students receive less instruction than under the old program.

UPI/Bettmann

As a result of a recent Supreme Court ruling, fewer private-school students are receiving face-to-face Chapter 1 instruction.

"You have some parents who don't want students going off-site to get their education," says Father Bill Davis, representative for Catholic Schools and Federal Assistance for the U.S. Catholic Conference Department of Education. "In some cases, you lose a lot of time walking to and from the site. The biggest problem is that you can't assume you're getting 35 to 40 minutes of instruction."

As a result of these inconveniences, the number of private-school Chapter 1 students has never reached its pre-*Aguilar* level of 184,000 in 1984-1985. It dropped to 120,000 in 1985-1986 and is currently at 170,000. Of these 170,000 students, only 120,000 are receiving a "face-to-face" education with a Chapter 1 instructor, whereas all 184,000 were receiving such an education in 1984-1985.

Most of this instruction takes place in computer-stocked mobile vans, a setting criticized by the independent review panel: Students work at computer terminals under the supervision of non-instructional technicians who only ensure that the computers are functioning. "Student work may be monitored by a Chapter 1 teacher in a central location or in a van outside the school, but not side-by-side as the student progresses through the lesson."

Furthermore, computer-assisted instruction is not generally considered educationally effective, the panel says. "It is designed chiefly for drill on basic skills, thereby denying private school children thinking, comprehension, and problem-solving practice."

And though vans are often the least disruptive option, they are not the answer, says Jim Mahoney, Assistant Superintendent for the New York City Archdiocese. According to Mr. Mahoney, New York City has 134 vans, each with a five-year lease. The cost for each van, including the driver, who does no teaching, is $106,000 per van per year. Mr. Mahoney claims that over $200 million of Chapter 1 money has been spent on such capital expenditures nationwide since 1985. "Not a penny of that is going into teaching," he says.

A Flawed System

Chapter 1, despite its accomplishments, is costing American taxpayers $7 billion a year to provide inadequate, inefficient services to five million kids every year. Perhaps the Commission on Chapter 1 said it best: "The fact is that we know how to educate poor and minority children of all kinds—racial, ethnic, and language—to high levels ... Instead, to those who need the best our educational system has to offer, we give the least. The least well-trained teachers. The lowest-level curriculum. Our lowest expectations. Less, indeed, of everything that we believe makes a difference."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW, INSTANT ACCESS TO THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT.

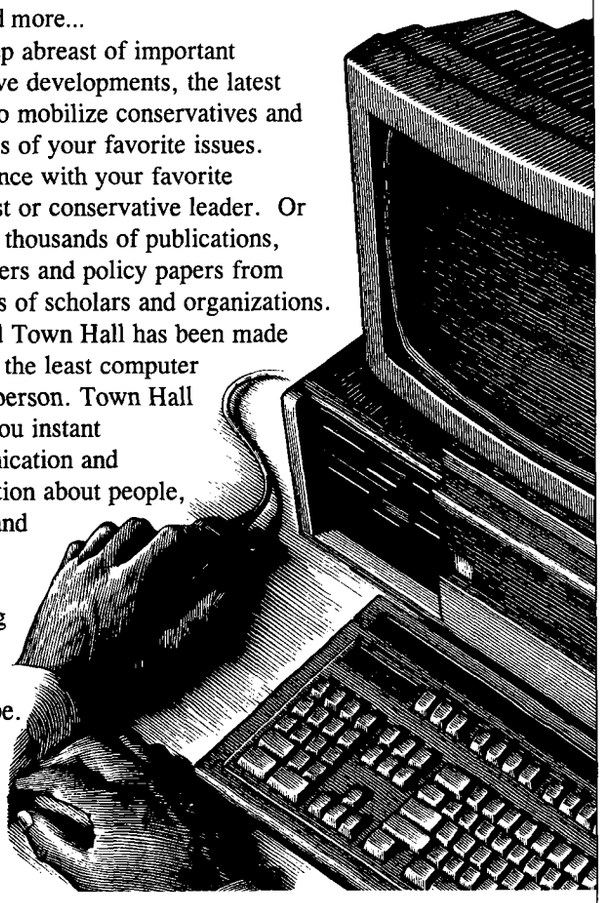
Town Hall is the easy-to-use, 24 hour interactive meeting place where you can correspond, debate and exchange information with fellow conservatives via desktop computer.

Town Hall affords you instant access to prominent conservative groups and magazines:

- The Heritage Foundation
- National Review
- Citizens Against Government Waste
- Intercollegiate Studies Institute
- Leadership Institute
- Eagle Forum
- Family Research Council
- Free Congress' National Empowerment Television
- Media Research Center
- Pennsylvania Leadership Council
- Texas Public Policy Foundation
- State Policy Network
- And more...

Keep abreast of important legislative developments, the latest efforts to mobilize conservatives and the status of your favorite issues. Conference with your favorite journalist or conservative leader. Or scan the thousands of publications, newsletters and policy papers from hundreds of scholars and organizations.

And Town Hall has been made easy for the least computer literate person. Town Hall brings you instant communication and information about people, groups and events that are changing the political landscape.



Call 1-800-441-4142 for more information, or take an on-line tour.
Just dial 1-301-262-8610 via modem.
Hit return twice at the CONNECT signal.
See you on Town Hall.

TOWN HALL
The Conservative Meeting Place

A Project of NATIONAL REVIEW and THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1A. Title of Publication:
Policy Review

1B. Publication Number: 008-059

2. Date of Filing: October 1, 1993

3. Frequency of issue: Quarterly

3A. No. of issues published annually: 4

3B. Annual Subscription Price: $22

4. Address of office of publication:
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002

5. Address of headquarters of publisher:
same as above

6. Full names and addresses of:

Publisher: Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002

Editor: Adam Meyerson
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002

Managing Editor: Margaret Bonilla
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002

7. Owner and address:
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders: None.

9. The purpose, function and non-profit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: (1) has not changed during the preceding 12 months.

10.

	Avg. number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months	Avg. number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
Extent and nature of circulation:		
A. Total number copies	30,979	32,946
B. Paid and/or requested circulation		
1. Sales through dealers	1,926	2,135
2. Mail subscription	16,733	18,780
C. Total paid &/or requested circ'n:	18,659	20,915
D. Free distr. by mail, carrier, etc.	5,576	5,483
E. Total distribution	24,235	26,398
F. Copies not distributed		
1. Office use, left over, etc.	5,219	5,583
2. Return from news agents	1,525	965
G. TOTAL	30,979	32,946

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Ben Morehead
Associate Publisher

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Timothy B. Norbeck, William A. Sandberg, Paul J. Fink, N. Ralph Frankel, James S. Todd, Vincent A. Maressa, Anthony M. Perry, Rita Ricardo-Campbell, Sandra F. Olson, Tom Arnold, Alexander C. Chester, Charles P. Duvall, R.J. Cihak, Michael Schlitt, Robert W. Feldtman, Stephen Cohen, Malcolm D. Findlater, William S. Frankl, John C. Goodman, Joseph J. Lamb, Leonard Metildi, Tom Miller, Richard A. Neubauer, William H. Reid, Mark E. Richards, Simon Rottenberg, Alexander Vuckovic, Randall J. Hekman, Tim LaHaye, Gary Palmer, Ernest Lefever, Carl Henry, Booth Fowler, J. Daryl Charles, J.C. Wilke, Richard Reeb, Jr.

Don't Blame Physicians

Dear Sir:

Hurrah for Dr. Copeland! Medicare patients and physicians should have the option of contracting outside of Medicare. Since its enactment almost 30 years ago, bureaucrats incorrectly have blamed physicians for rising costs in the program while imposing expensive, new, and more burdensome layers of regulations, price controls, and hassles on practitioners and patients alike. The result has been predictable: more administrative costs shifted to privately insured patients, and fewer primary-care physicians to see growing numbers of elderly patients. The number of Medicare enrollees increase by 700,000 each year, yet government bean-counters seem to think that the program's overall expenditures should go down.

The latest round of Medicare cuts, a substantial $55.8 billion, will only exacerbate the problem. With each new reduction in Medicare, elderly patients hear the echoing refrain from Washington that "only" physicians and hospitals will be hurt by the cuts. After enduring almost 30 years of blame, inadequate fees, and empty promises, many physicians either must opt out or cut back on the number of Medicare patients they see. Still others must give up the private practice of patient care altogether.

If Dr. Copeland's achievement stands, at least patients and physicians could choose to make their own private arrangements, as anyone should be able to do in a free country. Another benefit from Dr. Copeland's suit will be a greater public understanding of the Medicare program and its limitations. What began in 1965 with such high hopes now needs less coercion, less regulation, and less bureaucratic intrusion into patient–physician relationships. Those who want more government involvement in health care should remember President Harry S. Truman's sage advice: "If you want a friend in Washington, buy a dog."

Timothy B. Norbeck
Executive Director
Connecticut State Medical Society
New Haven, CT

"Fraud and Abuse"

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland's article points out some very common and frustrating problems with Medicare. As executive director of a medical society, I have heard hundreds of similar complaints from patients and members.

One of my favorite stories is about a family-practice physician in her early sixties. She practiced in a small city serving a large rural community. For many elderly and frail patients, the travel to the "big city" to visit the doctor was a major obstacle. The doctor was suffering a little burnout herself, as most of her patients were on Medicare or Medicaid. She was having difficulty paying her staff and all the other bills that come with a medical practice, to say nothing of the hassle factor.

So, she developed a plan. She wanted to close her office but continue to serve her Medicare patients by making (wonder of wonders!) house calls. The patients liked the idea, too. She reasoned, and rightly so, that this would be an appreciated and needed service for patients.

Her plan was to charge and collect from the patients $10 or $15 extra per visit, plus mileage. She was making plans to outfit her van with everything she felt was prudent to take with her on her visits. Very wisely, she checked with our office, and we checked with Medicare.

"Fraud and abuse," they reported. End of story.

William A. Sandberg
Executive Director
Sacramento–El Dorado
Medical Society
Sacramento, CA

Copeland Takes First Step

Dear Sir:

After reading Dr. Copeland's piece, I began to hope that we will be able to develop a more rational relationship between doctors and patients in the Medicare system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As a medical director of a hospital with 40 full-time psychiatrists and 15 full-time psychologists, my concerns about reimbursement and Medicare are extensive. Medicare has treated the doctors as lepers and has undermined the doctor–patient relationship in this arcane homogenization of all the elderly as poor, needy, and unable to pay for their portion of the care not covered through Medicare insurance. Anything that would give the able-to-pay elderly the opportunity and freedom to choose their doctor and to create a separate contract would be a boon for physicians and would enhance the patient's sense of autonomy and their ability to get the care they need.

More and more doctors are resigning from Medicare or not accepting Medicare patients because of these rules. In addition, many doctors are leaving medicine because they cannot tolerate the change in the way that doctors are viewed in America. Private practice is dwindling. Many physicians are finding alternatives to private practice—other employment or group work—to deal with the extensive harassment and the hassle factor, which are two devastating and complex methodologies for undermining the confidence of physicians while trying to gain control over the spiraling costs.

This does not mean that there are not physicians whose fiscal practices in some ways have not precipitated this difficulty. Personally, I do not believe that it is physician costs that have caused the extraordinary rise and the percentage of GNP spent on health care, nor does President Clinton, but it will be a long time before we can convince the media and the public of that fact. Nevertheless, I am delighted with this decision, and feel that it is the first step toward some relief for the physician and the patients whose health care will be improved as a result of this ruling by Judge Politan.

Paul Jay Fink, M.D.
Past President
American Psychiatric Association
Chairman
Department of Psychiatry
Albert Einstein Medical Center
Philadelphia, PA

Medicare Hurts Elderly

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland's eye-opening and inspiring article should be required reading for anyone advocating changes in our country's health-care delivery system.

Dr. Copeland's article, which details her experiences working with the government's Medicare Part B program, is a compelling account of the damage wrought by government intervention in health-care delivery.

Many of the Dade County Medical Association's physician members also have faced the difficult decision whether to turn away or refuse to accept new Medicare patients, or raise their charges to non-Medicare patients to make up for reduced reimbursements.

This problem is particularly acute in Florida because of the high percentage of elderly residents. In particular, Florida has suffered more than any other state has under the RBRVS Medicare payment system, a system which has reduced reimbursement to Florida physicians dramatically.

Dr. Copeland's court victory is welcome news and a heartening sign that her grim prognosis of the imminent demise of our profession may be prevented yet if physicians continue striving against those who seek to destroy the traditions of our profession.

Florida health care-reform legislation passed this year originally posed just the sort of threat that Dr. Copeland fears. However, as a result of a bruising political battle, organized medicine, led by the Florida Medical Association, was successful in adding provisions to the legislation safeguarding the patient's right to choose his own physician, guaranteeing patients variety in health-care plans, and ensuring that physicians have input into the quality of care provided to patients.

If America's physicians adopt the spirit and determination exemplified by Dr. Copeland, we can succeed in preserving the best of our profession well into the next century.

N. Ralph Frankel, M.D.
President
Dade County Medical Association
Miami, FL

"Medicare has treated the doctors as lepers and has undermined the doctor-patient relationship in this arcane homogenization of all the elderly as poor, needy, and unable to pay for their portion of the care not covered through Medicare insurance."
—Paul Jay Fink, M.D.

AMA Supports Contracting

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland's article provides invaluable insight into the obstacles that physicians encounter under the Medicare system. The American Medical Association (AMA) and the Medical Society of New Jersey filed an amicus brief in Dr. Copeland's lawsuit, *Stewart* v. *Sullivan*, in support of the plaintiff's motion for summary judgment.

The AMA argued that the Medicare Act states a clear congressional intention not to interfere with the practice of medicine, the manner of compensating for medical services, or the patient's freedom of choice among physicians (42 U.S.C. § § 1395, 1395a). The brief supported the right to "opt out" with three conditions: 1) physicians would be prohibited from charging a fee in excess of a reasonable fee as stated in the code of medical ethics; 2) opt-out arrangements should be based upon full disclosure of all relevant information to the patient; and 3) as a matter of law, a physician may not enter an opt-out arrangement with a Medicare beneficiary who also is poor. Under these three conditions, we believe that opt-out arrangements should be considered lawful and, indeed, beneficial to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operation of the Medicare program.

Since the District Court's ruling in *Stewart*, there have been many interpretations of the court's opinion. The plaintiffs claimed victory and said that physicians are free to contract privately with their patients. However, the District Court merely held that the plaintiffs had not proven that a government policy prohibiting private contracting existed. It did not decide whether such a policy, if it existed, would be lawful.

Since the ruling in Dr. Copeland's lawsuit, the AMA has sought a clear statement from HCFA articulating the government's position on opting out by Medicare Part B beneficiaries. Recently, HCFA published a new section in the instructional carrier's manual that leaves little doubt that private contracting is prohibited under any circumstances. Section 3044 of the Medicare carriers manual states that non-participating physicians may not contract privately and charge a Medicare beneficiary more than the limiting charge, and physicians must submit a claim form to the Medicare carrier if the beneficiary is entitled to receive payment under Medicare Part B. The manual states that physicians who violate this policy will be subject to sanctions, including civil money penalties and/or exclusion from the Medicare program.

The AMA has challenged both state and federal legislation imposing arbitrary controls on physicians' fees. Judicial challenges to federal economic legislation are difficult to win, since judges generally do not second-guess congressional judgments on questions of social and economic policy. However, we believe that under the conditions stated in our brief in the *Stewart* case, private contracting should be considered lawful. The AMA will continue to pursue the rights of patients and physicians under such conditions in courts, before regulatory agencies, and in state and federal legislatures.

James S. Todd, M.D.
Executive Vice President
American Medical Association
Chicago, IL

Copeland Overly Optimistic

Dear Sir:

As Dr. Lois J. Copeland observes in her article, the federal Medicare program seeks to deny beneficiaries the right to contract for physician services at a higher fee than Medicare allows. This is an example of the lengths to which a nationalized program will go to squeeze out private competition.

"Dr Copeland's experiences and frustrations are shared by thousands of physicians. Bureaucracy, inefficiency, and hassle dominate the system."
—N. Ralph Frankel, M.D.

To protect physician readers, I must note, however, that Dr. Copeland is overly optimistic in her claim of victory in the federal District Court. Judge Politan dismissed her case and did not rule in her favor.

It is not at all clear, therefore, that physicians and Medicare beneficiaries may enter into a private contract outside Medicare reimbursement limits. Indeed, Medicare officials recently issued a new carrier instruction expressly prohibiting such action and threatening prosecution for transgressions.

Ultimately, this issue is more likely to be settled by legislation than by judicial decision.

Vincent A. Maressa
Executive Director
Medical Society of New Jersey
Lawrenceville, NJ

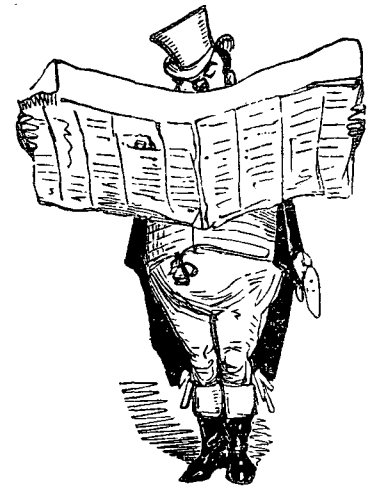
HCFA Fears Competition

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland's battle with the Medicare authorities was both principled and courageous. The intrusion of the Medicare bureaucracy into physicians' lives and practices has been longstanding and pervasive, and we have been obliged to adapt. The penalties for stepping outside the bounds of their innumerable regulations tend to be extreme, and are very intimidating. My state organization, the Pennsylvania Medical Society, in commenting on this case, has advised its members to exercise great caution and to consult competent legal counsel before considering private contracting with Medicare beneficiaries. It is truly astounding that, in this free country, what would seem to be a simple private medical visit cannot be done away from the scrutiny and supervision of the federal government.

One might ask why HCFA would want so harshly to suppress private contracting outside of the Medicare system, since such activity would seem only to help to reduce the financial strain on the program. Protection of the elderly against exploitation certainly is not the reason. This group is politically and organizationally strong, and its members have demonstrated great ability to fend for themselves in economic matters.

Furthermore, although this particular case has not been a public issue generally, I doubt that there would be much support among the elderly for such restriction of their freedom. What HCFA bureaucrats



and their congressional supporters really fear, I believe, is the potential for the development of a very visible competing alternative, akin to the situation in the public and private schools, as bureaucracy and fiscal constraints produce growing restric-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions and stagnation in the Medicare program. The world has observed very well in recent years the fate of socialism when it tries to coexist with private enterprise.

Dr. Copeland's victory, although small in impact now, may prove to be crucial to the preservation of high-quality medical care in this country in the future. We should be grateful to her, and support her in her efforts.

Anthony M. Perry, M.D.
Scranton, PA

"To protect physician readers, I must note that Dr. Copeland is overly optimistic in her claim of victory in the federal District Court. Judge Politan dismissed her case and did not rule in her favor. It is not at all clear, therefore, that physicians and Medicare beneficiaries may enter into a private contract outside Medicare reimbursement limits."
—Vincent A. Maressa

More Interference?

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland's article is of considerable interest. She gives the details behind the important legal suit filed against Medicare Part B, in which Judge Politan ruled that Medicare could not enforce denial of the rights of Medicare patients to enter into private contracts with physicians who elect to provide services outside of Medicare. I believe that this little-known prohibition indeed did restrict consumer choice, but the ruling, as I read it, still leaves the potential for increasing high-handed government interference in the delivery of medical care in the United States.

The history of government regulations, from the price controls of 1971–1974 to the 1990–1992 prohibition of discussion by a physician of the option of abortion with pregnant patients who receive family-planning funds, illustrate some of the possibilities under any centralized system. If the medical care system is reformed so that government funding, as may be under the Clinton plan, covers all medical care, then the area to which such regulations may apply is greatly extended.

Under existing managed competition and HMOs, primary-care physicians and registered nurses, acting as gatekeepers, control access to specialists and, thus, to "high-tech, high-cost" tests and surgery. Today, an informed patient who is willing to pay can self-refer to top-notch specialists who may be outside of the HMO or other prepaid group in which he or she is enrolled. Will this option remain, or will it be viewed as undesirable under a centralized government-run system primarily because it is proof of two levels of medical care?

Rita Ricardo-Campbell
Senior Fellow
Hoover Institution
Stanford, CA

Decision Benefits Seniors

Dear Sir:

Most physicians who learned of Dr. Copeland's success in defending a Medicare patient's "freedom of choice" to contract privately for medical care were overjoyed. Unfortunately, the favorable verdict received little attention in the public or professional press.

There is little doubt that the suit of Dr. Copeland and her patients has benefitted senior citizens across the country. As one of them so eloquently said, "Why should I wake up with fewer rights on turning 65 than I had the day before?" Why indeed?

The current signs from the Clinton administration are that the paper hassle will be less, patient "freedom of choice" of physician will be preserved, among other positive features that have been offered as a part of President Clinton's proposal. Only time will tell, of course, whether these statements will stand the test imposed by truth, or were merely empty words spoken to disarm and betray a trusting and yearning public.

If the policies for future health care, developed and introduced by the Clinton administration, reflect the latter, medicine, as we know it, surely will take a sharp turn for the worse. This will have far-reaching negative consequences for all citizens who are entrapped through financial dependency in the restrictive web of government-funded health care.

In her article, Dr. Copeland vividly describes some of these dire consequences; in many ways, as bad as they are, they are the least of them. What follows could be even more frightful to behold.

Sandra F. Olson, M.D.
President
Chicago Medical Society
Chicago, IL

Choice with FEHBP

Dear Sir:

You have done your readers a great service by publishing Dr. Lois J. Copeland's "Please Do No Harm: A Doctor's Battle with Medicare Price Controllers" (Summer 1993). Dr. Copeland is not only a compassionate physician and champion for her patients, but an eloquent writer as well.

Medicare clearly was designed to assure our elderly citizens of access to high-quality medical care and the freedom to choose their own physicians. How ironic that some 30 years after its creation, and a veritable warehouse of regulations later, a physician and her patients would challenge the program on the very issues of access and choice.

The actual decision in the lawsuit, while somewhat nebulous, serves as an indictment of the bureaucratic meddling in the Medicare program and a warning to well-intentioned legislators in the coming debate on health-care reform. The dollars our nation and our government allocate to health care are best directed toward providing care, not toward increasing the regulatory chokehold

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that federal agencies have foisted on the system in the name of efficiency.

In contrast to Medicare with its rigid rules and restrictions, there lies a model of competitive efficiency, the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHBP). It administers about 400 different insurance programs across the country for federal employees. The type of coverage is left strictly to the employee and his family as to the type of coverage they prefer, and the amount of out-of-pocket contribution they would like to make.

Fundamentally, the ability to choose is precisely the point. There is genuine competition for the employee's health-care dollar. As a result, premium-cost increases averaged just 9 percent throughout the 1980s, far less than the double-digit increases generally associated with other private plans.

Medicare cost increases have achieved a similar growth rate, but only with enormous regulatory intrusion and significant increases in shifting costs to the private sector.

If reforming the system provides our patients with true choice, we will have succeeded in providing better and more cost-effective care for all. And Dr. Copeland—and all physicians—can get back to the work of caring for patients.

Tom Arnold, M.D.
Diagnostic Clinic of Houston
Houston, TX

Medicare Strangles Doctors

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland articulates our feelings well in her article. It is difficult to overstate the frustrations that internists feel with the current Medicare law.

Our experience with six years of Medicare mandates has produced a strangulation: Office costs have risen at 7 percent per year, while Medicare fee limits have increased just 0.6 percent per year. The future holds no promise that this will change.

What can we do about it? 1) Attempt to limit the number of new Medicare patients accepted into the practice, which would be repellent; 2) Passively watch the overhead climb, and income fall; or 3) See more Medicare patients per hour.

Regrettably, we believe that the third option will win. Government will reimburse at the least common denominator, and a Gresham's law for internists will develop: the high-volume providers will drive quality out of practice.

Alexander C. Chester, M.D.
Charles P. Duvall, M.D.
Washington, DC

When politicians impose artificial limitations on goods, huge amounts of human energy are expended in overcoming bureaucratic obstacles.
—R.J. Cihak, M.D.

Medicare Wastes Effort

Dear Sir:

Human beings naturally seek the good life. When politicians impose artificial limitations on goods, huge amounts of human energy are expended in overcoming bureaucratic obstacles. In many parts of the world, bribes and other favors are the norm. Artificial bureaucratic controls inherently produce artificial shortages of food, gasoline, medical services, or anything else. Humans are wasted.

A man told me about his wife's visits to her doctor. Because this man knew about the costs of running a small business, he knew the doctor could not afford to continue to practice under the price-fixing restrictions in his state. So that the doctor could stay in practice, this man would put $25 in an envelope, address it to the doctor's wife as a gift, and hand it to the receptionist.

These "under-the-table" arrangements are very "private" in the sense of being secret or hidden. Ironically, these "private" arrangements are most common in the systems that claim to be the most communal and open, such as under communist or socialist systems.

In response to this human waste, I will retire early from my practice at age 55.

R. J. Cihak, M.D.
Aberdeen, WA

An Ageist Program

Dear Sir:

There is an essential question that Dr. Copeland, and the rest of the medical field needs to ask in dealing with Medicare: "Should one participate with Medicare on a case-by-case basis or should one refuse to deal with Medicare in any way whatsoever?" Dr. Copeland has obviously taken the former course. I have adopted the latter.

Medicare exacts contributions of 10 percent or less from its beneficiaries relative to the benefits that they receive each year. It is, therefore, the worst sort of ageist, redistributive, public program one could imagine, as many young working people can no longer afford insurance—yet must contribute to the "insurance" of wealthy elderly.

Moreover, Medicare has adopted the Resource Based Relative Value Scale (RBRVS), which is an embodied labor theory of value. The doctor has no right to set his fees under RBRVS, but instead is paid by only what the government deems is his expenditure of work, adjusted for malpractice fees and regional differences in practical overhead. Even the creator of this monstrosity, William Hsiao, has denounced it.

This situation is unconscionable. I applaud Dr. Copeland and her heroic first step. However, American medicine will never be safe until Medicare and Medicaid have been phased out.

Michael Schlitt, M.D.
Renton, WA

Government's Heavy Hand

Dear Sir:

Hopefully, the Clinton administration is aware of the victory for Medicare patient's freedom of choice in *Stewart* v. *Sullivan*. Perhaps more importantly, the Administration needs to recognize the impetus

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

behind the lawsuit: doctors and patients are growing increasingly unhappy with the heavy hand of government interfering with their special relationship.

In addition to reducing patient choice and autonomy, a Clinton plan based on managed competition will most likely reduce access to medical care and the quality of care provided. Instead of choosing treatments based on a patient's needs and the doctor's expertise and familiarity with that patient's medical history, managed competition would insert even further the bureaucratic requirements of government and insurance companies to decide what services a doctor may provide.

A health care plan which in its very essence seeks to restrict choice of health care is bound to retard the research and development of technological breakthroughs which, in part, have given Americans the best health care in the world. One only has to look at Medicare, RBRVS, Medicaid, and many other government health care programs to see that government all too often seems to compound problems by consistently making grandiose promises that it cannot afford to keep.

Stephen Cohen, M.D.
President
Physicians Who Care
San Antonio, TX

Rural Elderly Suffer

Dear Sir:

I agree with Dr. Copeland that Medicare price controls have reduced Medicare patients' access to health care.

Reimbursement rates are severely low in many rural areas. As a result, it is hard to retain physicians in rural areas with high Medicare populations. The physicians who remain have less time and energy for the most complex patients, and their quality of care often suffers.

In the small urban area where I now practice, the vast majority of primary-care physicians will accept very few new Medicare patients. I have met Medicare patients coming into the community who have had to contact over 40 physicians prior to finding one who will accept a Medicare patient.

Malcolm D. Findlater, M.D.
Cedar Rapids, IA

Inefficiency Dominates

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland's experiences and frustrations with Medicare are shared by thousands of physicians. Bureaucracy, inefficiency, and hassle dominate the system.

Physicians care for the elderly because it is our calling. It is what we are educated and trained to do, and it is what we want to do. We do this despite Medicare, not because of it. Far from being an inducement, the system discourages participation by its over-regulation and budget-driven declining to reimbursement levels.

"The Medicare 'insurance' program is an unmitigated disaster. Instead of insuring that there are no financial barriers to the elderly seeking medical care, Medicare is well on its way to being the barrier."

—Leonard A. Metildi, M.D.

The government should get its nose out of the patient–physician relationship. People are not fools who need an accountant or insurance agent to protect their interests by second-guessing medical decisions. Efforts to educate patients and physicians alike are necessary and welcome, but no one needs or wants a big-brother, secret-police watchdog.

Medicare reimbursement should be reasonable so that physicians are not punished financially for accepting the elderly as their patients. The Philadelphia County Medical Society has a policy that physicians always should take into consideration the financial status of patients and, when appropriate, charge less than

their usual fee, or no fee. I believe that most physicians adhere to this policy in daily practice.

I support the right of patients and physicians to contract independent of Medicare without forfeiting other rights under Medicare. Laws and regulations should state that right unequivocally. Failing that, courts should uphold this basic constitutional right. The vast majority of patients and physicians might not choose this option, but they should have the right to do so.

It is well said that the government that governs best, governs least.

William S. Frankl, M.D.
President
Philadelphia County Medical Society
Philadelphia, PA

Bureaucratic Tyranny

Dear Sir:

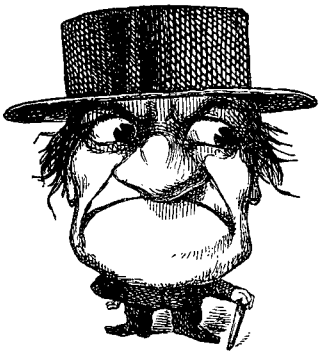
Dr. Copeland's courage in resisting Medicare's bureaucratic tyranny is to be commended, and her experience with Medicare should both concern us and alert us. We should be concerned because Medicare is just one more example in which a program of the federal government uses its power and money to threaten and punish a group of people, in this case physicians. We also should be alerted because Dr. Copeland's travails are only a foretaste of what is to come under the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clinton health-care plan, should it ever win approval.

The Clinton health care-reform package will be more restrictive and intrusive than bureaucrats at the Department of Health and Human Services ever hoped of being. It will be like Medicare gone mad.

Fortunately for Dr. Copeland and her physician colleagues, there still



is a health-care market outside of Medicare that permits some freedom for patients and physicians. Under the Clinton plan, there would be no escape.

John C. Goodman
President
National Center for Policy Analysis
Dallas, TX

HCFA Limits Access

Dear Sir:

As a practicing, board-certified internist, I found Dr. Copeland's article very interesting. It presents a graphic but accurate picture of the practice of medicine in the 1990s.

Since 1991, my Medicare reimbursement for a routine office visit has fallen approximately 15 percent when corrected for inflation. At the same time, I have invested $22,000 in a computer system to deal with the increased paperwork demands.

One would hope that HCFA would realize that it has limited a senior citizen's access to quality medical care. This has been exactly the effect of its policies. All physicians struggle daily to provide state-of-the-art care in a hostile environment of government overregulation and falling reimbursements. Many of my new Medicare patients report previous difficulties finding a physician willing to accept Medicare patients. I expect that every physician will change his practice of medicine in response to these forces.

Dr. Copeland presents a solution by which some fortunate patients may find temporary relief. She assumes wrongly, however, that all physicians are as ethical and caring as she is. A small minority of physicians are motivated not by their Hippocratic oath, but by greed. While private contracting might provide a modest amount of relief to sorely abused physicians and patients, it also might provide opportunities to abuse our elderly.

I believe that our fundamental problem is larger than an autocratic HCFA. Americans demand basic services to be rendered to all Americans, including those over age 65; but they fail to budget adequate funding. This has created an environment in which HCFA must cut corners to reduce costs.

Frequently, HCFA's actions are as effective as a Bandaid for a massive hemorrhage. Rising health-care costs are not due to inflation or greed; instead, they represent increasingly complex and expensive technological care for a growing aging population. I believe the challenge facing physicians, patients, taxpayers, and policy-makers in the 1990s is to find a way to match our expectations for medical care to what we are willing to pay.

Joseph J. Lamb, M.D.
Alexandria, VA

An Unmitigated Disaster

Dear Sir:

The Medicare "insurance" program is an unmitigated disaster. Instead of insuring that there are no financial barriers to the elderly seeking medical care, Medicare is well on its way to being the barrier. When one considers that the Medicare fee is only the maximum that HCFA will allow the physician to bill, that the fees are 40–50 percent of usual fees, and that the fee has no direct relationship with what Medicare will allow, it is no wonder that Medicare patients now are considered to be charity cases.

I firmly think that the answer to all of this is to enact Heritage's Consumer Choice Health Plan and let it apply to all ages.

Leonard A. Metildi, M.D., F.A.C.S.
Fulton, NY

Camouflaged Rationing

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland and her patients should be applauded for their courage and persistence in successfully challenging the Medicare monopoly. Arrogant bureaucratic attempts to prohibit voluntary health-care agreements between physicians and their Medicare patients represent the inevitable result of a centrally controlled, politically financed health "insurance" plan that promises more than it can pay for, grows increasingly brittle and inflexible, and naturally dreads competition from better alternatives.

As they used to say in the Eastern Bloc, "Everything that is not mandatory is prohibited."

Unfortunately, Dr. Copeland's legal victory over Medicare price controls is but one small, although crucial, step among many needed to restore the sovereignty of medical care consumers. To escape the mindless rigidity fully, camouflaged rationing, and lowest-common-denominator standardization of government-defined health care, we need not only full pricing freedom on the demand side, but also a wider array of consumer choices on the supply side.

Sadly, the current debate over health-care reform remains full of shallow quick-fixes, but fails to ad-

"[Dr. Copeland] assumes wrongly that all physicians are as ethical and caring as she is. A small minority of physicians are motivated not by their Hippocratic oath, but by greed."
—Joseph J. Lamb, M.D.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dress the key ingredients needed for competitive markets and meaningful consumer choices.

As Dr. Copeland has discovered, the best antidote to political medicine is a dose of private contracts.

Tom Miller
Director
Economic Policy Studies
Competitive Enterprise Institute
Washington, DC

Bargain Shopping at K-Mart

Dear Sir:

What the medical profession desperately needs is leadership and people with courage like Dr. Copeland. We all owe very deep gratitude for her outstanding performance.

The lack of leadership among physicians is obvious. With the passage of the RBRVS, there was not a single physician or even a representative of the American Medical Association in attendance to object to such overwhelming changes.

The situation that Dr. Copeland describes is only the tip of the iceberg. Circumstances are much worse, and the root of the evil is much deeper, particularly with the onslaught of managed care. It is questionable whether any private practitioner will be able to survive without becoming part of the contractual care phenomenon. Under these circumstances, the patient–physician relationship is wiped out completely. The physician sees the patient only because he has agreed to take a reduced rate on a contract basis; that is, the patient does not seek out the physician because of his reputation, because he has respect or reverence or faith in said doctor. He goes there only because it is a bargain price.

Yet, when patients think they are going to get something for nothing, they become overly demanding. I had a limited experience with this in the coal fields of Algoma, West Virginia during my senior year in medical school, and I see a resurgence of this atmosphere of something for nothing. Practice for organized medicine is a far stretch from fee for service. The care in some circumstances may be adequate, but it must be done on a limited budget. The ones who ultimately will suffer the most financially, besides the doctors, will be the elderly, who are increasing in number in this country. Their freedom of choice is all but gone. Seeking out medical care now appears to be no better than a trip to K-Mart.

Richard A. Neubauer, M.D.
Lauderdale-by-the-Sea, FL

Battling for Rights

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland deserves our considerable thanks for pursuing two important issues to their successful end. First, she has helped good sense and individual rights to triumph over a HCFA–Medicare "system" that is mired in bureaucracy, protecting thousands of government employees and legislative staffers from whom regulations—and even punishment for punishment's sake—are a livelihood.

Second, and even more vital, Dr. Copeland and *Stewart* v. *Sullivan* speak to whether or not every citizen's right to pursue anything the law does not expressly prohibit will be allowed to prevail in a country that sometimes seems willing to give up its freedoms for the sake of convenience and entitlements. The patient's right to choose the care he or she purchases, and the doctor's right not to be restrained in the safe and legitimate practice of medicine, are not mere Medicare issues. These rights are not limited to doctors or hospitals or the medical "turf" decried by non-physicians.

I have great concern that health reforms and entitlement legislation of the 1990s will forget that the "solutions" some people associate with health care, education, housing, and other entitlements are not so simple as merely providing government-subsidized goods and services. They often threaten the matrix of incentives and opportunity that are nourished by individual rights, and that give rise to the entrepreneurism, motivation, and pride that have brought us national success.

"The patient's right to choose the care he or she purchases, and the doctor's right not to be restrained in the safe and legitimate practice of medicine, are not mere Medicare issues."
—William H. Reid, M.D.

We must not sell our freedom for any price, and certainly not for the short-term goals of one generation. The generations that follow deserve better. Just ask Dr. Copeland and her children.

William H. Reid, M.D., M.P.H.
Medical Director
Texas Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation
Austin, TX

Votes and Dollars

Dear Sir:

As a young physician in private practice, I mourn the state of medicine as Dr. Copeland does. I also mourn for the American people, especially for those over age 65. Why would our government "elected by the people and for the people" legally prohibit doctors from being financially capable of taking care of Medicare patients? The answer is as simple as votes and dollars.

Medicare payments currently are "justified" by a "Resource-Based Value Scale" that limits purported overcharging by placing dollar limits on fees for medical services. These "limiting charges" not only do not compensate for physicians' skills, time, and education, they also do not cover the overhead costs inherent in the treatment of any patient. If doctors refuse to treat Medicare patients, those in government who wish to disparage doctors could say how uncaring and selfish they are. If physicians continue to treat Medicare (and Medicaid) patients, we continually must shift costs to our other patients, or risk becoming financially insolvent. The government

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

claims a victory in keeping its Medicare percentage budget increase below that of non-Medicare health costs. All they really have accomplished is a shift of costs to the private sector.

Circumventing the Medicare system through physician–patient contracts, as Dr. Copeland advocates, is not the answer. This will assure high-quality care only for those who can afford it. Perhaps the government should convert its multiple veterans hospitals into modern facilities and use salaried medical staffs to treat Medicare recipients in an HMO-type arrangement. Those over age 65 who wish private health care could pay extra to get a "fee-for-service" policy that the government could buy through competitive yearly bidding. Huge sums of money could be saved through eliminating the Medicare bureaucracy—which currently represents nearly 30 percent of its budget—and senior citizens would get a choice in their health care.

Currently, Medicare patients are being treated because of their physicians' ethics, compassion, and charity. However, further downward pressure on reimbursement and more paperwork-generating bureaucratic "oversight" eventually will strain physicians to the breaking point. That is when the real health-care crisis will begin.

Mark E. Richards, M.D.
North Bethesda, MD

Medicare Socially Inefficient

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland is quite right in her distress at the effort of government agencies to control the terms of exchange when she provides medical care services to her patients.

That control is not only morally wrong, in the sense that it diminishes personal liberty by imposing coercive constraints upon freely engaged consensual transactions; it also is socially inefficient because it misallocates medical care resources.

By subsidizing the premium costs of those it covers and regulating the terms of complementary transactions, Medicare forecloses the entry of private commercial insurers who might offer alternative bundles of risk-pooling, diminishes the set of insurance arrangements available to consumers, enlarges third-party insuring and diminishes self-insurance, encourages an excessive employment of professional care, and redistributes professional care inefficiently among age classes of the population and within the class of the elderly.

Simon Rottenberg
Professor
Economics Department
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA

"The ones who will ultimately suffer the most financially, besides the doctors, will be the elderly, who are increasing in number in this country. Their freedom of choice is all but gone. Seeking out medical care now appears to be no better than a trip to K-Mart."

—Richard A. Neubauer, M.D.

False Utilitarianism

Dear Sir:

Dr. Copeland's plaint against the Medicare bureaucracy is, of course, entirely justifiable. She is correct in her assessment that the upcoming health-care "reform" will doom fee-for-service medicine by virtue of the institutionalization of subtle and overt disincentives—"global" budgets, expansion of the silly RBRVS reimbursement system with its arbitrary valuation of physician services that omit any reference to quality, and the Canadianization of insurers into "health alliances" that look suspiciously like provincial monopolies. It is worth noting, however, that Dr. Copeland was quite pleased with Medicare when it reimbursed her without hassle for many years. All of us, including physicians like myself who trained in the 1980s, are now getting hoisted on the petard of the seductive concept of medical care as a demand-driven right and its logical extension into the realm of a regulated public utility. Where were Dr. Copeland and the spineless AMA in the late 1960s and 1970s, when this juggernaut was still not up to full steam? Pocketing their Fedibucks, I assume.

A sort of false utilitarianism has become the driving force in public policy over the past three decades: academia, the press, and, yes, physicians are cheerleading this process without bothering to deny it. Doctors have money; therefore, it is perfectly all right to deprive them of certain constitutional rights in exchange for the greater good of the patients. The fallacy, of course, will be revealed only after this sorry process takes place, and consumers and providers of medical services find themselves in a Medical Oceana, being told that lack of choice is choice, and mediocrity is quality, by their well-paid bureaucratic taskmasters.

Until then, I wish Dr. Copeland luck. I will see her at the barricades.

Alexander Vuckovic, M.D.
Belmont, MA

Lois Copeland Responds

The publication of "Please Do No Harm" represents the spring of my hope. I am pleased and grateful for the overwhelmingly positive response.

With respect to N. Ralph Frankel's letter, a "grim proposal of imminent demise" was not my in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tent, rather a warning of what would happen should we physicians and patients not stop the government's progression in the direction of darkness. The intent of my lawsuit was to take the first step of a thousand-mile journey toward freedom, dignity, independence, privacy and the preservation of the unique patient-physician relationship. I am forever appreciative of the exceptional willingness of the Florida Medical Association to support my patients' lawsuit against the medicare bureaucracy.

With respect to Dr. James Todd's letter, I wish to point out the following inaccuracies:

1.) It is not the law that a physician may not enter an opt-out arrangement with a Medicare enrolled patient who is also poor. It is law that if a claim is submitted for a Medicare-Medicaid enrolled patient, assignment must be taken. There is nothing in the law which states that a claim must be submitted for each and every service, only in HCFA harassment.

2.) Dr. Todd is incorrect in saying that the Medicare manual states that physicians who violate this law *will* be sanctioned. Section 3044 of HCFA's Medicare Carrier Manual reads as follows: "Penalties may also be assessed for failing to submit a claim to the Medicare carrier on the beneficiary's behalf within one year of providing a service for which the beneficiary is entitled to receive payment from Medicare."

The use of the word "may" has been carefully selected by the bureaucracy: it serves to continue the threat and intimidation without making *Stewart* v *Sullivan* ripe. The use of the word "will" in place of "may" would have sent me back to court. Judge Politan stated that sanctions could be imposed only by willful and repeated violation of a *clearly articulated* policy. "May" is not clearly articulated, as it leaves doubt.

I also wish to point out to Dr. Todd that a "Medicare beneficiary" is a patient who elects to use his Medicare entitlement: a private patient is a patient of any age who does not wish to use the Medicare entitlement for payment of medical services. I believe that HCFA enjoys the use of semantics in its regulatory scheme, hoping for distortion to aid in its tyranny.

With respect to Mr. Maressa's wish to protect physician readers, it should be noted that he consistently advised the Board of the Medical Society of New Jersey to avoid support of my lawsuit, and continues to reject the fact that Judge Politan dismissed the lawsuit (therefore eliminating possibility of appeal by the government).

Judge Politan specifically stated that HCFA and the carriers do not have the power to issue sanctions, and that were such a policy articulated, we "would find relief" in his court. No, I do not feel overly optimistic that we achieved victory in Judge Politan's 25-page decision—I feel certain of it.

With regard to Dr. Schlitt's decision to opt out of Medicare, I envy his ability to do so. I continue my journey toward that end, actively working to develop a private alternative to free the senior citizen from the bureaucracy's noose around his neck. Dr. Findlater is correct in pointing out that government programs tend to harm the very people they are intended to help.

To all I would like to point out that freedom entails risk; we may be threatened with potential death every time we enter an automobile, but we do not refuse to ride because of that potential threat.

Economic conditions today dictate the need for the private contract for the well-being of both physician and patient. It should be used and it is lawful.

"No, I do not feel overly optimistic that we achieved victory in Judge Politan's 25-page decision—I feel certain of it."

—Lois J. Copeland, M.D.

Back to Basics

Dear Sir:

I agree with Ralph Reed that we need to speak to our culture in ways it can hear. But unfortunately, merely changing issues while maintaining the identity of the "religious right" will not gain us mileage in and of itself. Anything identified with the religious right will be rejected out of hand by the vast majority of the American public.

Why is this? Certainly we can blame the liberal media elite for their characterizations of religious conservatives. But I believe we have done much to fuel the fire ourselves.

Regrettably, we have tended to demonize our opponents and approach the public policy area with incredible arrogance. We have placed far too much stress on political solutions, suggesting to some that God's kingdom can be ushered in by better public policies.

Government has a crucial role to play in maintaining order in this sinful world. But government's role is certainly no more important than the role of the church and the role of the family.

The primary reasons Christians should be involved in public policy is not to take control, but as an opportunity to serve our fellow human beings. In a democratic republic like America, we have an incredible opportunity to influence governmental policies that will help give "cups of cold water" to those in need. We are ultimately not a special interest movement, but serve in the public interest: Our truthful position on issues will help all people of good will.

We need more than a new agenda. We need a new approach of winsome, loving service backed by the integrity of our lives.

Randall J. Hekman
Executive Director
Michigan Family Forum
Lansing, MI

Media Distorts Truth

Dear Sir:

Ralph Reed is to be commended for calling our attention to the fact that the pro–family movement must

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

break out of the stereotype of being considered just a pro–life, anti–homosexual movement. The truth is, we have always been for the plethora of issues he suggested, but because liberals have an absolute stranglehold on the media, they have characterized us as right–wing religious crazies more interested in "imposing our moral values" (which are nothing but traditional American Judeo–Christian values) on the entire nation. It is a false charge, of course, but with total control of all TV networks, 95 percent of the print press and at least that percentage of control of education from kindergarten through Ph.D., they consistently get away with presenting our positions in the most derogatory light possible.

Mike Farris, the Republican pro–life candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, is an example. A leading newspaper recently referred to him as "an ordained Baptist minister" (who has never actively been in the ministry) but neglected to mention that he has been a lawyer for fifteen years and has practiced before the Supreme Court. You can be sure they would never have made such an important omission about a liberal candidate!

I believe the conservative pro–family movement must launch a frontal attack on the media and expose it for the blatant distorters of truth that they really are. Until conservative businessmen wake up to the realization that they are going to have to start using free enterprise to save the system by creating at least one TV network that offers the truth about what is really going on in this country, we, the vast majority of pro–family, pro–moral, basically religious and conservative Americans will continue to be at mercy of the minority of liberal humanists who control the flow of information to the voters.

If conservative, religious people and all other citizens basically committed to traditional American values (about 65–70 percent of the population) had one TV network and one news gathering agency which they could use to convey their message and values, it would run the other five networks into bankruptcy and help elect morally sane politicians who would restore peace, safety, and moral sanity to our land.

Tim LaHaye
President
Family Life Ministries
Washington, DC

The primary reason Christians should be involved in public policy is not to take control, but as an opportunity to serve our fellow human beings.
—Randall J. Hekman

Coalition No *Tour De Force*

Dear Sir:

In his article "Casting a Wider Net," Ralph Reed presents an interesting analysis of why the Christian right has not been the political tour de force envisioned by his mentor Pat Robertson. Mr. Reed says that the pro–family movement and conservative Evangelicals and Catholics who should be natural constituents are passing like two ships in the night. He believes the key to getting them to recognize each other will be through economic and domestic issues. But the solution may be more problematic than that, because when ships pass it usually means that they are going opposite ways.

Mr. Reed accurately identifies the issue about which most conservative Christians are concerned based on last fall's election day polls. However, the fact that Christians are more concerned about Mammon than morals should have alerted him to the possibility that the natural constituency he speaks of is not as large or as natural as he may have thought. More polls confirm that many Christians usually vote their pocketbooks over their morals. Since history has shown that law and politics follow the culture, perhaps the task of reforming the institutions of America should begin with the church rather than the government.

Mr. Reed may realize that more is needed than a new political marketing campaign and will use the economic issues to gain a hearing on moral issues among a carnal constituency. But if Mr. Reed presumes that by making domestic and economic issues a prominent part of the Christian Coalition's agenda they will become more politically palatable to mainstream America, then his efforts will be unfruitful. A wide gap exists between the general public's perception of the Christian Coalition and their perception of themselves. Endemic to this problem is the name Christian Coalition, which the liberal left sees as a confirmation of an intolerant religious movement determined to take over government. The name also concerns many sapient Christians who believe the name casts Christianity as a political special interest group, weakening the church's ability to speak with moral authority.

It appears that Mr. Reed hopes to re–create the Christian Coalition in the image of conservative think tanks. But his analysis fails to take into account the differences between the philosophy of many conservative think tanks that also address family issues and the activist

mentality of many of the Christian Coalition's members—a mentality which Mr. Reed helped create with his militant take–back–the–country rhetoric.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To his credit, Mr. Reed has matured considerably since his earlier pronouncements of the Christian Coalition as a stealth movement conducting political guerrilla warfare. Still, many of the Christian Coalition's grass roots members are fiery activists whose motivations for activism are rooted in moral issues. In that regard, Mr. Reed will likely find that the transition from activism to intellectual persuasion will not be easy. A better objective for Mr. Reed might be individual renewal among the largely apathetic Christian mainstream, an objective which would have a more profound and enduring impact than anything achieved politically.

Gary Palmer
President
Alabama Family Alliance
Montgomery, AL

Finding the Golden Mean

Dear Sir:

I find Ralph Reed's well–reasoned article, "Casting A Wider Net," convincing and hopeful, and have little to add to its basic thesis. Conservatives tied to narrow "family issues" will lose their clout and conservatives who erect too big a tent will lose their conscience. The trick is to find Aristotle's golden mean.

Permit me to emphasize several particularly perplexing problems—the fatherless family, violent crime, and other forms of irresponsible violent behavior—all of which raise profoundly moral questions.

The best anti–crime and anti–drug program is a caring two–parent family. We must oppose government policies that destroy the family and support those—such as a substantially greater family income tax deduction for dependents—that strengthen it.

Order and security are a prerequisite to a good and just society. Yet many American cities can no longer protect their citizens from violent crime. The career criminal must be kept off the street. And, as far as possible, he must be made to earn his keep while incarcerated.

Perhaps the most baffling social problem is the misery caused by irresponsible individual behavior—drunk driving, cigarette smoking, illicit drugs, and sexual promiscuity. Innocent taxpayers are required to pay billions for the voluntarily chosen sins of a relatively few in society. There are also enormous psychological and moral costs.

Should not smokers, alcoholics, and drug users pay for the medical costs of their behavior? Of course, a human society must care for crack babies, but what about their mothers? What should they pay? Law–abiding Americans are increasingly, and rightly, incensed by having to foot the bill for the wreckage of the irresponsible.

Perhaps in a second article, Mr. Reed, or others who accept his thesis, can spell out practical ways for grappling with the more tendentious issues.

Ernest Lefever
Senior Fellow
Ethics and Public Policy Center
Washington, DC

Christianity is Marginalized

Dear Sir:

Right on to Ralph Reed about the political significance of the issues of abortion and homosexuality. Likewise his insistence that these two issues must not eclipse other indispensable pro–family concerns. The obscurely confronted national debt is one; no less so the government's widening taxation of senior citizens that strips them of justly acquired savings.

Yet alternative ballot–box concerns ought not wholly dictate the religious right's agenda. President Clinton's reshuffling of family values by re-evaluation of abortion and homosexuality calls for a wider cultural context. Not only is Judeo–Christian conviction increasingly marginalized, but humanitarianism is evaporating even from contemporary secular humanism. All human life—sex, marriage and the family included—is recast in animal and bestial terms. Family values call for a more critical view of infidelity and divorce, of prostitution and child abuse, of the commendation of euthanasia alongside the condemnation of capital punishment.

"If Mr. Reed presumes that by making domestic and economic issues a prominent part of the Christian Coalition's agenda they will become more politically palatable to mainstream America, then his efforts will be unfruitful."

—Gary Palmer

Not that we aim by legislation to attain the kingdom of God. A political agenda by itself can achieve only temporary reforms; it is not in the nature of selfish and sinful humanity to build an ideal society. It is on the human heart that God wishes to inscribe His law, and a regenerate self will promote social righteousness.

A regenerate church is expected to do more than proclaim the standards by which the coming King will judge the world. The church must also, as much as possible, exemplify an ideal society and reflect the joy of moral obedience. Nobody should seek a deeper stake in social justice than the people of God. A sweeping spiritual revival, one that in its own ranks strives joyfully to exhibit obedience to God's comprehensive ethical agenda, can give credibility even to a religious man or woman whose truncated political options a naturalistic reconceptualization of man increasingly overwhelms.

We should salute the whole counsel of God, mindful that mediating positions need to be strengthened if they are long to survive, and grateful that opportunities remain for ethical advance. The specific agenda may well vary with time and circumstance. But one advantage that a revelatory ethic has is that, in its quest for the all-inclusive ideal, it offers humanity more than the echo of its own voice.

Carl Henry
Watertown, WI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Engage Family Issues

Dear Sir:

I agree that family issues need to be interpreted broadly by the Christian Coalition. That shouldn't mean ignoring abortion and homosexual questions and it won't because they have a habit of being deeply involved with so many sides of family questions. But, Ralph Reed is right, there are a lot of issues, especially in the arena of education, that need to be engaged. The potential danger would arise only if Mr. Reed and his organization begin to go the route of the Moral Majority and have a policy on everything and a focus on nothing. When I learn that the Christian Coalition has a detailed foreign policy and specific positions on farm supports payments, then I will wonder.

In any case, I would be careful at second-guessing the canny Mr. Reed. After all, who gave the Christian Coalition much of a chance after the Moral Majority's inglorious collapse? And who expected the Christian Coalition to become such an active and controversial player in American politics so quickly? Perhaps Mr. Reed did, but I wonder how many others were in his company. This doesn't make Mr. Reed infallible, far from it, but it should induce caution among would-be critics of his strategic proposal.

Booth Fowler
Professor, Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin
Madison, WI

Moral Assumptions

Dear Sir:

Although Ralph Reed does not advocate relinquishing fervent involvement in the spheres of abortion and homosexual rights, it should be stated why pro-family groups view these two issues as pivotal—and why such groups are maligned because of their narrow stance.

Both issues represent the physical (and metaphysical) negation of life. If human life cannot subsist safely within the womb and homosexuality is culturally legitimized, then not only can life not be guaranteed, no perversion of existing life—whether incest, sadomasochism or pedophilia—can logically be opposed. Under the mantra of "choice," family begins to take on an historic, new form. Thus, "family" becomes the source of "unfettered, eclectic" creativity and permits social bonds free from the restrictive "boundaries and genealogical logic" that have hamstrung western culture. (K. Weston, *Families We Choose,* Columbia University Press.)

The social pathologies afflicting contemporary culture are traceable to excessive secularism and insufficient religion. All political proposals reflect underlying assumptions, thus escaping ideological "neutrality." Religious conservatives, rather than merely attempting to broaden voter appeal, should foremost seek to expose underlying moral assumptions that propel issues and legislation.

Reed's proposal for a pluriform, pro-family agenda need not be construed as "selling the store." Rather, it strengthens the prospects of an enduring pro-family cultural influence.

J. Daryl Charles
Prison Fellowship Ministries
Reston, VA

"The best anti-crime and anti-drug program is a caring two-parent family."

—Ernest Lefever

Continue the Battle

Dear Sir:

I both agree and disagree with Mr. Reed. There is no question that we must build a coalition in order to win the abortion conflict. Any political coalition is built of a number of pieces. Anti-abortionists alone cannot win this. We must join in coalition with others whose top priority may be something else, but who also share a strong pro-life conviction with us.

On the other hand, those of us who have largely pursued a single issue should continue to do so. Those of us who are pro-life have gathered under our mantle people who do not share other issues with us. Pro-life people working in concert may and often do have differences in areas such as capital punishment, contraception, school choice, etc. Single issue pro-lifers bring together a bewildering spectrum of religious beliefs, ethics, ages, and other groups. This must continue. We can retain our own identity and yet at times work closely with other groups.

On one thing I would be very definite. We cannot only oppose abortion. We cannot and must not only protect fetal life. We have been and must continue to be deeply compassionate to the woman involved. It is quite clear that the average undecided citizen in America today has a deep conflict. Most of them see abortion as wrong. However, most of them also are willing to allow the woman the choice to kill her baby. How do we get through to these people? Well, first we have to get them to listen to us. One major stumbling block is their perception that we are not compassionate to women. We are, of course, as the more than 3,000 crisis pregnancy centers, our shepherding homes, high rate of adoption, etc., attest.

The problem is not reality – pro-lifers are compassionate to women. The problem is perception. We are not perceived as such. Therefore, I feel that it is of central importance in the next few years, for us to emphasize, to the point of over emphasizing, our compassion for women, as well as our concern for protecting her baby.

The line that we should repeat constantly is very simple and direct. "Why can't we love them both?"

J.C. Willke, M.D.
President
Life Issues Institute
Cincinnati, OH

Reed Behind the Times

Dear Sir:

Ralph Reed Jr. is quite correct in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

urging "Religious Conservatives (To) Move Beyond Abortion and Homosexuality," but he deals with the pro-family movement rather shabbily.

Groups such as the 700 Club, Concerned Women of America, and, indeed, Mr. Reed's own Christian Coalition have long taken a broader family oriented focus. If this article had been written 10 years ago it might be more accurate. But alas, it is quite simply out of date.

Mr. Reed also trivializes, intentionally or not, issues which are not trivial. He is surely familiar with the human carnage that is the legacy of abortion on demand, now approximately 30 million since the *Roe* v. *Wade* in 1973. And homosexuality is a direct assault on the moral integrity of the human family, the best institution for the moral education of children ever devised. It is as if opponents of black slavery or Jewish genocide were told that their heavy concentration on oppression or murder was failing to reach the average American or German citizen's concerns for peace and prosperity. Of course, coalitions are necessary among the welter of interest groups that grow up of necessity in modern republics, but this does not mean that we should downgrade the importance which religious people attach to serious moral issues.

It is true that the abolitionists were politically ineffective for years, at least partly because of their failure to make common cause with other segments of the people. But their most serious shortcoming was to demand what was politically impossible, for slavery could not be (and was not) abolished without war. But the pro–family activists, while not wholly immune to the charms of moral imperiousness (who is?), have long since learned that the most defensible moral and political policy is to argue for limits on immoral behavior, rather than wage war on the morally dissolute.

So as more and more pro–family conservatives move into conservative Republican ranks, let us all relearn the virtues of the coalition building that wins elections, passes bills and establishes public policies. But we can never forget that our right and necessity to engage in politics derive from the "laws of nature and of nature's God" proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence and revered for many centuries before that in our religious traditions. Political success is earned, not seized.

Richard Reeb, Jr.
Chair, Division of Liberal Arts
Barstow College
Barstow, CA

Ralph Reed Responds

Tim LaHaye is correct that the pro-family community has often addressed the pocketbook concerns of average families, though with little fanfare. Media bias is part of the problem. Journalists often seek out pro-family leaders in a way that deepens stereotypes. We must challenge those stereotypes that marginalize the faith community.

Carl Henry accurately points out that the full counsel of God requires that people of faith speak to the entire culture. God's principles work for every area of life: work, savings, marriage, child-rearing, crime and punishment. We must reclaim faith as a force of healing in a society with too many broken homes, broken families, and wounded individuals.

On the other hand, Booth Fowler correctly warns about the dangers of asserting a "Biblical" position on every public policy issue. Our voter guides state where candidates stand on a broad range of issues. They do not "rate" candidates on a "Biblical scoreboard" that attempts to connect every single public policy dispute to a scripture verse.

Ernest Lefever points out the high social cost of immoral and irresponsible behavior. When the most efficacious social institutions—church, home, and family—cease to function, society usually has to pick up the tab.

I fear that Gary Palmer missed the point of my article. My goal is not, as he surmises, to make the pro-family movement "more politically palatable." The goal is to more effectively represent churchgoing families with children. They care about taxes, crime, education, and health care, as well as abortion and gay rights. We seek to speak to all their issue concerns.

"Reed's proposal for a pluriform, pro-family agenda need not be construed as 'selling the store.' Rather, it strengthens the prospects of an enduring pro-family cultural influence."

—J. Daryl Charles

Mr. Palmer also argues, without offering supporting data, that the name "Christian" is a liability in the electorate. Our survey research shows the opposite. A February, 1993 poll found that the name Christian Coalition had a 55 percent positive rating and a negative rating of only 17 percent. More important than nomenclature is tactics. If we make it clear that we seek to legislate our public policy views, not our theology, the public will appreciate our faith confession even while some differ with us on issues.

No one has suggested that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Catholic Campaign for America, or the American Jewish Congress change their names. Nor should they. Religious self-identification is a time-honored tradition in American public life that we should honor, not disparage.

Nor do I seek to recreate the Christian Coalition in the tradition of conservative think tanks. The conservative movement is a symphony, not a solo by a single instrument. We need think tanks. But without grassroots organizations to bring ideas and solutions to the precincts, conservatives will find it increasingly difficult to win.

We need more grassroots groups like the Christian Coalition speaking out on conservative values, not fewer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When ripples make waves

Even the proverbial drop in the bucket will cause water to ripple to the edge of the bucket. It's a principle that also works with money.

But that doesn't mean the money that circulates through Mobil represents just a drop in the bucket of the American economy. It's more than that. After all, we're a large company and we have a substantial impact. In the U.S. alone last year, we grossed over $20 billion—and nearly $99 billion in the last five years.

Obviously, we don't hold on to all of that, what with our employees and shareholders and the vendors we do business with deserving their share of the wealth. So, the money moves around in what some call the "ripple effect."

And ripples do make waves.

Take us, for instance. We market our petroleum and chemical products throughout the United States, and we have facilities of one sort or another in most states in the country. Which means we help fuel the economies of a lot of different communities.

Here's a partial listing of how some of the dollars you spent at the pump, at the supermarket or in heating your homes over the past five years were fed back into your local economies.

- $9 billion was paid as salaries to our employees working in their own corners of the country from Maine to California.
- $600 million was paid to federal and state governments on our employees' behalf in unemployment and Social Security taxes.
- $1.7 billion went to our retired employees as pension payments.
- $12.6 billion was collected by us in federal and state excise taxes and import duties, or paid by us in property, production, payroll and other taxes.
- $3.4 billion was spent on environmental activities associated with our plants and operations around the country.
- $10.9 billion went for goods and services to vendors across the country, who in turn paid their employees, paid taxes and generally did all of the above. That number, by the way, does not include monies spent for crude oil and product purchases.
- $5.7 billion was paid out in dividends to our more than 200,000 U.S. shareholders holding nearly 400 million shares of our common stock.

Surely, any one of the foregoing items represents a significant contribution to the nation's economy. And that's only in the U.S. The story, although not the size of the numbers, is echoed in the more than 100 countries around the world where we do business.

And keep in mind we're just one company in one industry.

Understandably, economics can, at times, be a daunting subject. And too often we have tended to think of it as having little impact on our daily lives.

Not so.

Every time a cash register rings, it creates a ripple that eventually builds into a tidal wave of economic activity.

Mobil®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

© 1993 Mobil Corporation

Vulgar and obscene talk, gym periods and lunch breaks as open sessions for aggressive sexual conduct, pregnant teenagers in at least two of my classes, a new single mother in another—none of these stories surprise an American ear. But for the Nigerian, they are nothing short of scandalous.

Jide Nzelibe
America's Wild Kingdom:
A Nigerian Is Shocked At
His U.S. High School

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED